

THE BOROUGH AND THE BOROUGH HOSPITALS

R. M. WINGENT



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HISTORICAL NOTES
ON
THE BOROUGH
AND THE
BOROUGH HOSPITALS

BY
R. M. WINGENT.

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PREFACE.

THESE essays were written in their original form for the GUY'S HOSPITAL GAZETTE, and their publication in book form has afforded the opportunity necessary for considerable revision and correction.

Their origin may serve to explain why the true limits of the ancient Borough of Southwark have been exceeded in order to comprehend the whole of the hospital "district," and why special attention has been devoted to the eighteenth century and the earlier years of the foundation of Guy's Hospital.

The writer desires to record his grateful acknowledgments to Dr. A. Shillitoe, for notes on *Le Loke*; to Mr. J. Frowde, for valuable help with the history and topography of Bermondsey; and to Mr. J. A. Ryle, for his friendly assistance with the proofs.

R. M. W.

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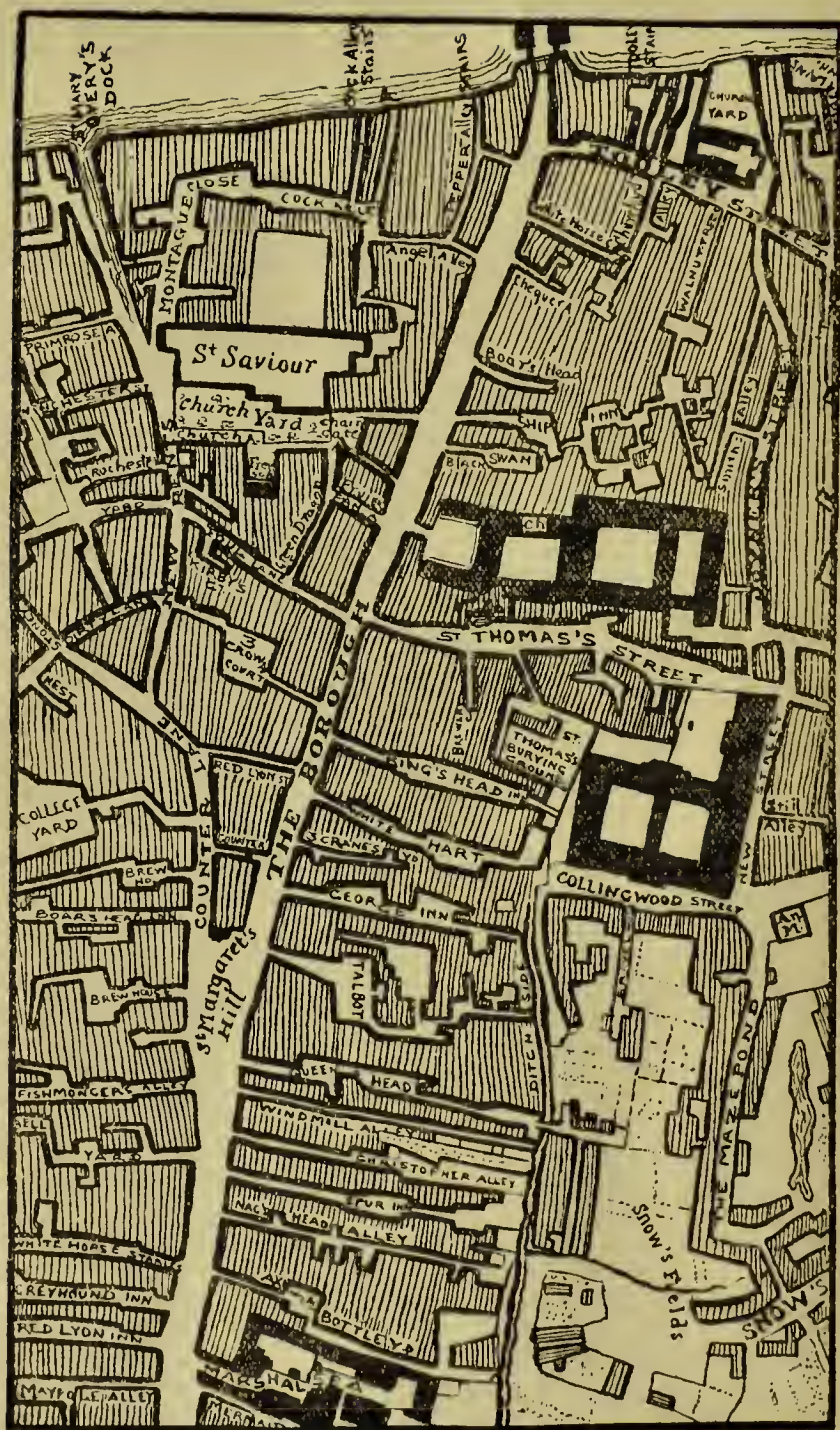
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AFTER JOHN ROCQUE'S PLAN, 1746.

The Borough.

I.—THE BRIDGE AND THE HIGH STREET.

“ . . . the Pantheon, the Grotto Gardens, the BOROUGH, and such places where the nobility chiefly resort.”

She Stoops to Conquer, GOLDSMITH.

The only bridge between Southwark and the City that Thomas Guy ever knew was that on which a double line of houses formed a street continuous with Fish Street Hill on the north and Borough High Street on the south. It was situated considerably to the east of the present bridge, so that the roadway ran past the porch of St. Magnus and actually beneath its projecting clock. The base of the belfry tower was pierced in 1760 in making a footway on that side of the road.

This was the same stone bridge that had been completed at the beginning of the thirteenth century by Peter of Colechurch; and by Guy's day the more important of the buildings upon it had disappeared. The Chapel of St. Thomas was entirely destroyed, except for its crypt within the central pier, which had become the basement of a paper warehouse. Nonsuch House, an ornate wooden building made in sections in Holland, and erected about 1584, had fallen into decay before the arrival of the eighteenth century. At the central span was placed a drawbridge that allowed the passage of the taller vessels from the Pool to the river above. At three points the roadway opened out from between the enclosing houses to form squares that overlooked the river on either side. In one of these, the

story goes, Thomas Guy, leaning over the parapet to watch the tide running like a millrace between the narrow arches of stone, was drawn back by a passer-by who, fearing that he contemplated suicide, sought to turn him from his purpose, and, as a final argument, pressed a guinea into Guy's hand. Guy, as soon as he had convinced the stranger of his error, returned the guinea, and obtained his would-be benefactor's name. In later years, Guy, learning that his new friend had become bankrupt through no fault of his own, seized the opportunity to return his former kindness by re-establishing him in business in Newgate Street.

There is a vista of old London Bridge in the sixth of the "Marriage à-la-Mode" pictures by William Hogarth, who at one time inhabited a house on the bridge. In his earlier days Hogarth had worked with John Bowles, the engraver, Guy's neighbour on Cornhill, to whom we owe the earliest of the engraved views of the hospital. Hogarth's painting master and, eventually, his father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill, painted the ceiling-piece in the Court Room at Guy's.

The Great Fire of 1666 had destroyed many of the houses at the northern end of the bridge, but, by a fortunate chance, a gap left by a previous fire had prevented it from extending to the remainder of the houses on the bridge, and so carrying its work of destruction into Southwark.

So ruinous had the buildings become that in the earlier part of the eighteenth century the City Corporation set to work in 1756 to remove the houses and to repair the bridge, which remained until the present structure was begun in 1825 and completed in 1831.

The new bridge made an alteration in the line of the roadway necessary; and for that purpose a number of houses, which had hitherto screened the eastern end of St. Saviour's, were removed, and with them the "Bishop's Chapel," a small building dating from the early seventeenth century. But for a vigorous protest by a section of the inhabitants, the Lady Chapel would have been swept away also.

The alteration in the line of the roadway afforded St. Thomas's Hospital a much-needed opportunity for increasing its capacity by removing the whole of its front quadrangle and replacing it by two tall wings in stone. Of these the northern wing was destroyed when the railway bought the old hospital premises in 1862, but the more southerly was taken over by the Borough Post Office and remains to-day.

The new roadway was officially christened Wellington Street, whilst its communication with Tooley Street became Duke Street, in honour of the "Iron Duke," and it was even attempted to rename the bridge by his title. But Southwark has always been tenacious of its old names, and not merely have the names of Wellington Bridge and Wellington Street been forgotten, but the gothic clock-tower with a niche for a statue of the Duke which was erected in the middle of High Street in 1854, has been removed to Swanage and is no more remembered.

Before the eighteenth century the High Street was known by the name of Long Southwark. Then and for nearly a hundred years after the term "Borough High Street" was applied only to the roadway between the bridge foot and the southern extremity of the "island" of buildings, now occupied by the two big banks, which lies between the High Street on the east and Counter Street on the west. From this point (on a level with the "Tabard" inn) to St. George's Church the street was known as St. Margaret's Hill. Beyond the church southward to the "Elephant and Castle" (the "Pig and Tinderbox" of the facetious Pierce Egan in the early nineteenth century) the road became Blackman's Street.

Strype's edition of Stow's "Survey of London," published in 1722 gives a list of the yards and alleys then leading out of the High Street. Only those names which are here printed in italics are represented to-day. Starting from the foot of the bridge on the eastern side we find Chequer Alley, Hester's Yard, Dark Entry, Boar's Head Inn, Ship Inn, Black Swan Inn, and St. Thomas's Hospital. All these have long since been swept away; but from this point, southward from St.

Thomas's Street, there are names that still may be recognised, *King's Head Inn*, *White Hart Inn*, *Crown Court*, *George Inn*, *Talbot Inn*, *Queen's Head Inn*, *Cock and Hoop Alley*, *Windmill Alley*, *Christopher's Alley*, *Spur Inn*, *Nag's Head Alley*, and *Axe-and-Bottle Yard*. The last-named was cut through to join with *Snow's Fields*, in 1760, to form *King Street*, afterwards called *Newcomen Street*.

Next came the Marshalsea Prison and, beyond that, *Mermaid Alley*, "*Blew Maid*" *Alley*, *Half Moon Inn*, *Golden Lyon Court*, the *King's Bench Prison and Alley*, *Angel Alley*, and *Shaw's Court*. Then came *St. George's Church*, which only recently, within the last fifteen years, has been detached from the foregoing houses by the roadway which was cut through its churchyard to *Long Lane* and *Tabard Street*, which formerly united as *White Street* to join the main road south of the church.

The Church of *St. George the Cappadocian Martyr* is first mentioned in 1122, when *Thomas of Arderne* bestowed it on the monastery of *Bermondsey*. It was rebuilt in 1735 "with a spire steeple most awkwardly standing on stilts," and repaired in 1808.

Down to the beginning of the last century, *Tabard Street* (under the name of *Kent Street*) was the sole continuation, westward, of the *Old Kent Road*. The name *Tabard Street* is a quite modern invention, presumably derived from the starting point of the *Canterbury Pilgrims* who travelled along it. In 1633 it was described as "very long and ill-built, chiefly inhabited by broom men and mumpers." Both of these callings find adherents among the present inhabitants. Here lived, according to *Oliver Goldsmith*, "that glory of her sex," *Mrs. Mary Blaize*. *Kent Street* was described, in 1837, as "perhaps one of the most dirty avenues in the neighbourhood of London." *Great Dover Street* was not constructed before 1809, although the *Surrey Dispensary*, standing at the junction with the older *Swan Street*, is dated 1777.

Further down, in *Blackman Street*, come *Three Arrow Alley*, *Black Spread Eagle Alley*, *Griffin Alley*, *Katherine Wheel Yard*, *Dolphin Yard*, *Lamb Alley*, *Cross Shovel Alley*, *White*

Horse Alley, *Lumber Court*, *Red Cross Alley*, *Unicorn Alley*, and *Rock Yard*, the greater number of which have been renamed or destroyed. *Trinity Street* belongs to the eighteenth century, though it was then known as the eastward continuation of the road to the west of *Blackman Street*, "*Dirty Lane*," afterwards *Suffolk Street*.

Trinity Church was built in 1823 on unenclosed land given by the *Trinity House Corporation* which owns considerable property in the neighbourhood. The weatherbeaten statue on the lawn in front of the church is said to represent *Alfred the Great*.

Returning northwards on the western side we find *Great Yard*, "*Bearfoot*" *Alley*, *Axe Yard*, *Rose Alley*, *Maidenhead Yard*, and *Mint Street* (or, as this portion of it is now called, *Marshalsea Road*), opposite the church. Northward, again, come *Faulcon Court*, *Red Cross Alley*, *Dagger Alley*, *Maypole Alley*, and *Greyhound Inn* (*Union Street* was made in 1781 when the *Greyhound Inn Yard* was extended to meet *Red Cross Street*); *White Horse Inn*, *Windmill Alley*, *Red Cross Alley*, *Fishmonger Alley*, *Goat Yard*, *Counter Street* (about this point *Southwark Street* was cut in 1860, leaving the southern extremity of *Counter Street* to the west of the "island" opposite the *Tabard*); *Frying Pan Alley*, *Three Crown Alley*, *Foul Lane* (now *Bedale Street*), *Angel Court*, *Pepper Alley*, *St. Mary Overs Church*, and *Montague Close*.

Pepper Alley led to riverside stairs of the same name, at which timid passengers thought it more prudent to leave their boat, rejoining it below bridge after their waterman had "shot the rapids" beneath *Old London Bridge*. *Dr. Johnson* declared his belief that *Pepper Alley* was as healthy as *Salisbury Plain*, and *much happier*. It was destroyed in making the approach to the later bridge.

In the eighteenth century, we are told, one side of the *Borough* was "principally occupied by butchers, the other with hop-factors, and other considerable tradesmen"; and to this day the butchers and the hop-factors continue to glare at one another

from their respective sides of the street. A later description, written in 1837, tells us of Wellington Street "quite new and spacious. But a little higher up we are in High Street with its Town Hall and shop-like Post Office, and here we might imagine we were in the main street of a bustling country town. Upwards of one half of the hop dealers of the metropolis have their shops or establishments in High Street, and of the remainder the greater portion are in the neighbourhood. The other occupants of the High Street are dealers of every description, woollen and linen drapers, butchers, cheesemongers, hardware merchants, surgeons, chemists, tobacconists, tea dealers, etc., with sundry waggon-inns and public-houses."

On the best authority we may add to this list the establishment of the boot-maker whose window the immortal *John Jorrocks* used to scan, in the days of Alderman Harley, for the list of meets of the Surrey Hounds.

II.—THE INNS.

“Great rambling queer old places they are, with galleries and passages and staircases wide enough and antiquated enough to furnish materials for a hundred ghost-stories.”—Pickwick, ch. x.

On Friday, May the 26th, 1676, the Great Fire of Southwark swept along St. Margaret's Hill and “Long Southwark,” as the High Street was called in those days, nearly as far as St. Thomas's Hospital and St. Saviour's Church, which only escaped by reason of a providential change in the direction of the wind. All the inns mentioned by Stow in 1603—“the Spurre, Christopher, Bull, Queen's Head, Tabard, George, Hart, Kinge's Head, etc.,” were destroyed, at least partially; but, by the eighteenth century, all, except the Christopher, had risen anew from their ashes.

An ancient tavern known as the “Bear at Bridge Foot,” standing at the southern end of London Bridge on the western side of the street, with gardens that extended to the river, was built in 1319. Samuel Pepys used it on several occasions, landing at this point after being ferried across the river. It was destroyed in 1761 when the approach to the old bridge was widened.

The Boar's Head, across the road, a little to the north of the hospital, was another inn which had survived from ancient times. It formed part of the benefaction to Magdalen College, Oxford, of the Sir John Fastolf, who figures in Shakespeare's plays. He served with distinction in the French Wars of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Henries, and from his town house, in what is now Tooley Street, resisted the insurrection of Jack

Cade. The Boar's Head premises were converted into a court of 11 tenements, which were removed about 1824 for the new London Bridge approaches.

The majority of the Borough inns remained until the middle of the last century, although many were in a ruinous condition and had lost the characteristic tiers of galleries which, in Elizabethan times, had served to equip the inns for their secondary function as playhouses. Among the last to disappear were the Tabard, in 1875, and the White Hart, in 1889. A small remaining portion of the galleries in the Queen's Head Yard was removed within the last fifteen years; and, to-day, the southern half of the old George alone stands to illustrate the character of the eighteenth century inn.

Historically, the most interesting of these hostelries were the Tabard and the White Hart, both very different in olden days from their descendants now occupying the old sites. The Tabard dates its history from the year 1307, when the Abbot of Hyde, Winchester, purchased the land at this situation and erected on it a hostel or town-house for the lodgment of his retinue when parliamentary duties called him to London. The Abbot's dwelling remained, but the hostelry adjoining came to be used for secular purposes, and especially as a meeting-place for pilgrims intending to embark on a "conducted tour" to one of the holy shrines.

Geoffrey Chaucer utilised the idea of such a journey as the cord on which to thread his rosary of metrical *fabliaux*; for it is improbable that his characters actually took the road to Canterbury together. In "The Canterbury Tales" the band of pilgrims—"wel nyne-and-twentye in a companye"—on April the 2nd, 1380, assemble at "the Tabarde, faste by the Bell," to set out for the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket under the conduct of Herry Bailly, the Host of the Inn." The Tabard, from which the inn is named, was, as Stow puts it, "a sleeveless coat, whole, before, open on both sides, with a square collar winged at the shoulders: a stately garment of old time, commonly worn of noblemen and others . . . their arms embroidered

or otherwise depict upon them"—in the original literal sense, a *coat of arms*—now only worn by heralds. After the Southwark Fire in 1676, for some reason the sign was changed to the Talbot, a pet dog.

The signboard swung from a beam held above the roadway by upright posts, and bore the inscription: *This is the Inn where Sir Jeffrey Chaucer and the nine-and-twenty pilgrims lay in their journey to Canterbury, 1383.* The beam was removed in 1763, and the inscription transferred to the archway facing the street. What was then exhibited as the "Pilgrims' Room" in reality dated no earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, when the last of the building, as Chaucer knew it, was demolished. In the middle of the last century there remained the stone-coloured balustrade of Elizabethan times, in front of which was shown a picture of the Canterbury pilgrims said to have been painted by William Blake. At that time the ground floor was already let out as luggage offices of carmen and railways. On the left an old wooden staircase led into the gallery behind the balustrade. To the right the yard extended to some distance and then turned at right angles into a sort of long back court, the buildings on either side communicating by a light wooden bridge thrown across it.

The White Hart was perhaps even older than the Tabard. In 1450, when Jack Cade brought his insurgent mob to London he made this inn his headquarters.

"*Hath my sword therefore broke through London Gates that you should leave me at the White Hart in Southwark?*"—King Henry VI., iv., 8.

In front of this inn the headless body of Lord Say was quartered.

The Queen's Head was at one time the mansion of the Poynings, one of whom was sword-bearer to Jack Cade. Afterwards it became an inn under the sign of the Crossed Keys. But, after the Reformation, the keys of St. Peter, borne *sal-tire-wise*, were too evident a reminder of former papal control; and so, in the reign of Elizabeth, the inn adopted the more

patriotic sign of the Queen's Head. In 1637 the inn was the property of John Harvard, the founder of the American University.

The King's Head bore as its sign a half-length portrait of Henry VIII.

In the middle of the last century the Catherine Wheel was one of the best preserved of the Borough inns. It stood on the western side of the street in the yard now occupied by the Midland Railway. The name was derived in early times from an order of knighthood whose special function was the protection of pilgrims; an inn, therefore, bearing the badge (representing the instrument of the Saint's martyrdom, a spiked wheel) of the knights of St. Catherine was expected to make a special appeal to those about to undertake a pilgrimage.

We have noticed among the old inns below St. George's Church the White Horse. To-day the site is occupied by a public-house bearing the name of the Flying Horse. It is possible that the old inn modified its name when, as the present inscription states, it became a recruiting station for the 15th or King's Light Dragoons a hundred years ago or more by adopting a regimental nickname.

Among the curious inn names formerly to be seen in the Borough was that of the "Tumble-down Dick," situated in what Ned Ward (1711) called "the dirty dominion of the Mint." The sign is usually represented by a drunken man tumbling over. But its original meaning is said to have been a satirical caricature on Richard Cromwell, the second Protector, who not only fell rather ignominiously from the lofty position for which he was not qualified, but was said to have had a leaning (*post, ergo propter*) towards the bottle.

Yet another strange name for a Southwark inn noted by Andrews in his Anecdote History of Great Britain (1794), and vouched for by Mrs. Piozzi, was "The old Pick-my-Toe"! The figure on the sign represented the well-known statue of the Roman slave removing a thorn from his foot.

III.—THE ALLEYS.

“If you wish to have a just notion of the magnitude of this City, you must not be satisfied with seeing its great streets and squares, but must survey the innumerable little lanes and courts.”—Dr. JOHNSON.

The little lanes and courts, whilst bearing witness to the magnitude of the City to which they belong, sometimes add a story of former greatness which was their own.

To-day if we descend the stairway from the western side of the Bridge Approach we shall find that the roadway, continuous with Tooley Street to the east, between the riverside warehouses and the Bridge House Hotel, is named Montague Close. Originally the site was occupied by the cloisters of the monastery in connection with the priory church of St. Mary Overie, and some remains of these cloisters were still to be seen in the early nineteenth century.

At the dissolution of the monasteries, Henry VIII. presented the priory lands to his master-of-horse, Sir Anthony Brown, whose son, as Viscount Montague, built himself a mansion here. The family caused the churchwardens of St. Saviour's, in 1606, to build them a new doorway into the church upon the north side. Within the same close (according to a legend popular with the historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but rejected by later authorities) stood also the house of Lord Mounteagle, and it was by the miscarriage of a letter, which fell into the hands of the wrong lord, the story runs, that the Gunpowder Plot was divulged. Beyond doubt, the heads of certain of the conspirators came to adorn the gateway of London Bridge hard by. As a reward for this happy discovery, the old writers

assert, for nearly a hundred years the residents in the Close enjoyed exemption from actions for debt, trespass, etc.; but it is far more probable, however, that the immunity from arrest was a perpetuation of the old ecclesiastical "sanctuary" which the legal authorities had been unable to revoke. The place became a resort for defaulters and lawbreakers of all kinds, until the scandalous privilege was suppressed by Act of Parliament, when the inhabitants withdrew to the more famous sanctuary of the Mint.

Green Dragon Passage, leading from Bedale Street to the Market, takes its name from a public inn which at one time had been the town-house of the Cobhams. A member of this family, Joan de Cobham, was a benefactor of St. Thomas's Hospital, leaving money at her death, in 1369, to the sisters ministering there and for the sick inmates. In her will she desired that she might be buried in the churchyard of "St. Mary *Over-the-re*, before the door where the Blessed Virgin sitteth on high." The inn became, in the eighteenth century, the Southwark post-office.

Stoney Street is of great antiquity. It is believed to have been the paved causeway by which the Roman legions reached the ferry that carried them across the river to Dowgate and Watling Street in the City of London, the *Augusta* of the early Roman occupation.

Before the existence of Southwark Street, Stoney Street was continued to join the main stream of the Borough, at the apex of the "island" of bank premises, under the name of Counter Street. The name still survives in Counter Court, a little "back-water" which intersects the island.

Counter Street derives its name from the Southwark Compter, a courthouse and prison. The Compter (pronounced Counter) was so called from *computare*, "because," says Minsheu, "who-soever slippeth in there must be sure to account and pay well too, ere he get out again." The building was destroyed in the Southwark Fire of 1676, and rebuilt in 1686, on a small colonnade leading to a tavern, above which was a courtroom

where once a week was held a court of record for all debts, damages, and trespass. Under a pediment in front of this hall was a statue of King Charles II., which was removed in 1793 to the roof of a watch-house in Three Crown Court. A figure of Justice which, with one of Wisdom, had formerly supported the Lord Mayor's seat in the hall, was also there placed near the bar of a neighbouring coffee-house.

The Borough Compter had been removed in the early 18th century to a place near Battle Bridge in Tooley Street, and this courthouse in the Borough became the Southwark Town Hall.

Opposite the Hall were held the parliamentary elections. The Hall was built of brick, having the front cased with stone. It was in three storeys, the lower or basement storey, containing the entrance, was rusticated; the second storey ornamented by four pilasters of the Ionic order, with an entablature and projecting cornice; and the third storey was surmounted by a balustrade.

Southward from the extremity of Counter Street you will find St. Margaret's Court. The name is the last pale phantom of the parish church of St. Margaret which, in pre-Reformation times, stood at the junction of Long Southwark with Stoney Street. The church had fallen into a ruinous condition when the two parishes of St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalene combined in 1540 to purchase the conventual church from Henry VIII., to serve as the common parish church under the new style of St. Saviour's.

The ruins of St. Margaret's were converted into the Compter prison. Rendle speaks of a tombstone with the name of Aleyn Ferthing, a burgess of Southwark, representing this borough in 1337 and 1348, which was discovered during excavations near the site of the church in 1833, and removed to the floor of the Lady Chapel of St. Saviour's.

Lower down the street we have, in the shops at 148, an Elizabethan four-storey building which, prior to the eighties, still retained its projecting upper storeys and some highly ornate stucco-work in relief.

On the eastern side of the way there still exist some of the courts mentioned by Strype in 1722. Mermaid Court, between the halves of the shop immediately north of the Blue-eyed Maid Tavern (the "Blew Maid" of the map), in Chapel Court, "hath an open court, indifferently well built and inhabited; hath a long passage down steps to a Bowling green. . . . The Half-Moon Inn is parted from the Bowling green by a ditch." "Angel Alley . . . a very handsome place with new brick buildings and well paved, but as yet thinly inhabited." Both Mermaid and Angel Courts were named after inns that existed in the 17th century. Thomas Doggett, the actor who instituted the watermen's race for "Coat and Badge" in 1716 to commemorate the accession of the House of Brunswick, lived at "the *Angel* next the Bench."

Opposite St. George's Church stood, in the sixteenth century, Suffolk Place, a royal residence which Henry VIII. had acquired from his brother-in-law, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who received in exchange the palace of the Bishop of Norwich in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Henry converted it into a coinage mint, and the name has survived to the present day in Mint Street. Queen Mary gave the property to Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, who sold it in 1557, when part of it was pulled down. The remainder later became Suffolk Place, the residence of Sir John Bromfield who, in 1679, married the daughter of Thomas Lant. The estate became the property of the Lant family whose name is perpetuated in Lant Street. The entire estate was sold in 1811.

It had early become a refuge for debtors and other outlaws, who were further reinforced when the hornet's nest in Montague Close was smoked out. In the early eighteenth century, we learn from Strype, the chief entrance was by *Mint Street* (now Marshalsea Road), opposite the church, running into *Lombard Street*, thence into *Suffolk Street*, and so into George Street, each entrance having its gate. Suffolk Street and George Street had open passages into St. George's Fields.

In 1837 the Mint was still existing as the last remaining "sanctuary" for debtors. Within its confines were then Mint Street, Crooked Lane, Bell's Rents, Exchange Alley, Cheapside, and Lombard Street. Also, Cannon Street, Suffolk Street, George Street, Queen Street, King Street, Peter Street, Harrow Alley, Anchor Alley, and Duke Street—"at present (1837) one of the most filthy and inconvenient districts in the Borough." Five years previously the first case of Asiatic cholera had occurred there.

Lombard Street has been said, on doubtful authority, to derive its name from a mediæval settlement of Lombards in this district. The occurrence of other City place-names in the list favours the assumption that it was so named ironically; the Minters' Lombard Street makes shorter odds against the traditional *china orange* than its namesake across the water.

In the reign of William and Mary, and again in that of George I., statutes were passed ordering the abolition of its "privileges." The latter statute relieved from their creditors all debtors of under £50 who had taken sanctuary there.

Nahum Tate, once poet laureate and partner in the Tate and Brady collaboration, died here. A part of the action in Gay's "Beggar's Opera" takes place in the Mint. The Mint was one of Jack Sheppard's haunts; and Jonathan Wild stabled his horses at the Duke's Head in Redcross Street, within the precincts. Illicit marriages were celebrated here after the fashion of the more famous practice of the Fleet Prison. Officers of justice who ventured to pursue their quarry within bounds did so at the risk of being held under the pump till almost suffocated, or of being soused in the Black Ditch.

A journal of July 20th, 1723—eighteen months before Thomas Guy's death—tells us, "on Tuesday last some thousands of the Minters went out of the Land of Bondage, alias the Mint, to be cleared at the Quarter Sessions at Guildford, according to the late Act of Parliament [9 & 11 Geo. I.]. The road was covered with them, insomuch that they looked like one of the Jewish tribes going out of Egypt; the cavalcade consisting of

caravans, carts, and wagons, besides numbers on horses, asses, and on foot. The drawer of 'The Two Fighting Cocks' was seen to lead an ass loaded with *geneva*, to support the spirits of the ladies on the journey."

Outside the western entrance, by the "Fighting Cocks" whose potman figures in the narrative just quoted, was Hangman's Acre. Here, in 1720, were hanging in chains the murderers of the landlord of one of the Mint taverns. Other inns within the "dirty dominion" were the "Labour-in-Vain," and "Royal Oak" in the Borough, and the "Naked Boy" in Lombard Street.

IV.—THE PRISONS.

*“ Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an Hermitage.”*

LOVELACE.

Stow tells us of five prisons in Southwark—“The Clink on the Banke; the Compter in the late parish of St. Margaret; and the Marshalsey; the King’s Bench; and the Whyte Lyon.” It is with the last three, “all in Long Southwarke,” that we are now concerned.

Like the Compter, the prisons of the Marshalsea and King’s Bench existed principally for the detention of insolvent debtors. Until comparatively late in the last century it was still possible to imprison for debt, and unless, as we have seen, the debtor was able to evade the Law and willingly resign himself to a life of outlawry in a “lay sanctuary” such as that of the Mint, he was liable to arrest and imprisonment until he discharged the amount of his debt and the law costs incurred therewith—too frequently a life sentence. The maintenance provided was of the most meagre character, and often the prisoner, unless acquainted with a handicraft he could exercise within the walls of his prison, was forced to depend for his subsistence upon such doles as could be implored from passers-by or from visitors. In general, ultimate release could only be hoped for by the distribution of a charitable bequest like the £1,000 left by Thomas Guy “for discharging poor prisoners within the City of London.” Over six hundred debtors gained their freedom by this bequest of Guy’s.

The Marshalsea, “so called as pertaining to the Marshals of England,” was originally erected for the committal of persons accused of offences “within the jurisdiction of the Court, which

extended over a circuit of twelve miles from the Palace where the King's lodging then was, and accompanied a *progress* but not a *chase*."

It was sacked in 1381 by Wat Tyler's rebels, who seized and beheaded the marshal of this prison and the governor of King's Bench, Sir John Imworth. Here died Bishop Bonner who directed so many martyrdoms in Queen Mary's reign; he was buried, secretly and by night, in the churchyard of St. George's.

Here were confined, besides the debtors, those guilty of piracies and other offences on the high seas who had escaped the maximum penalty—hanging in chains in Execution Dock in Wapping.

It stood originally in the High Street between Newcomen Street and Mermaid Court; and the names of The Ride, Bowling Green, and Tennis Court to-day remind us that the lot of the more favoured inmates of the older Marshalsea was not without alleviations, and that both bowls and tennis were played within their "hermitage."

The debtors from the Borough Compter were temporarily lodged here pending their removal to Mill Lane, Tooley Street. A description of 1777 informs us that "the buildings of this prison are greatly decayed; *but the court-room is convenient and spacious*." In the court-room, the "Palace" of the Marshalsea, sat the Marshalsea Court until 1801, when it was removed to Great Scotland Yard in Whitehall. The prison escaped the attentions of the Gordon Rioters in 1780. Later on, Government purchased the old county gaol, called the White Lion, for £4,000, and built a new prison which was fitted up, in 1811, for the reception of the prisoners from the Marshalsea. This new building was upon a site overlooking St. George's Churchyard, and behind it was a small courtyard with a chapel and a smaller building for admiralty prisoners. It was demolished in 1849, after the debtors had been transferred to the Queen's Bench.

Stow tells us that the White Lyon was "a gaol so-called for that the same was a common hosterie for the receipt of

travellers by that sign. This house was first used as a gaol within these forty years last " (he is writing towards the end of Elizabeth's reign) "the appointed gaol for the County of Surrey." Among the benefactions enjoyed by the debtors in the old White Lyon was a donation of 65 penny loaves every eight weeks. With the abolition of this prison the benefit was transferred to the inmates of the Horsemonger Lane Gaol.

It is impossible to give a precise date for the origin of the King's Bench Prison; it was certainly instituted prior to 1304, for in that year Edward I. commanded the Courts of King's Bench and the Exchequer, which had remained seven years at York, to be removed to their old places in London. Wat Tyler's mob of Kentish rebels broke in and released the prisoners in 1381. Here Judge Gascoigne committed the seventeen-year-old prince, who afterwards was Henry V., for an attempt to release one of his retainers from the hands of the law.

The original prison stood on the eastern side of the High Street where now are Layton's Buildings, having to north and south the Marshalsea and the White Lyon for its near neighbours. Daniel Defoe has recorded that it was "not near so good as the Fleet."

The building was taken down in 1758, and the inmates removed to the new prison situated at the corner where the Borough Road leaves the High Street, at that time looking over the open fields of St. George's to Lambeth Marsh.

Tobias Smollett wrote part of his novel, "Sir Launcelot Greaves," within the confines of King's Bench in 1759, whilst serving a term of three months' imprisonment for libelling Admiral Knowles. John Wilkes was confined here, and in St. George's Fields, outside the prison, assembled the mob of "Wilkites" demanding his release. There also the Gordon Rioters collected in 1780, when they set fire to the King's Bench and liberated the prisoners.

The building was surrounded by a wall 35 feet high surmounted by *chevaux-de-frise*. In 1776, 224 rooms were allotted to the 395 male prisoners with 279 wives and 725 children!

The most scandalous overcrowding which resulted could only have been exceeded by the awful conditions which prevailed in such prisons as the old Compter in Mill Lane, where, in 1817, 38 men, 30 women, and 20 children exercised in a yard nineteen feet square and at night withdrew to two rooms, twenty feet by nine, provided with eight straw beds apiece!

Small wonder, then, if the " Benchers " spent all their time in the open court, where was a wall adapted for the game of rackets, or, when the necessary money-payment could be raised, availed themselves of the privilege of roaming in the open fields within the *Rules*.

The *Liberties* or *Rules* comprehended all St. George's Fields, one side of Blackman Street, and part of the Borough High Street, an area of about three miles in circumference. These *Rules* were purchasable at five guineas for small debts, eight guineas for the first hundred pounds of debt and about half that sum for every subsequent hundred. Day rules, of which three might be obtained in every term, were granted at 4s. 2d. the first day and 3s. 10d. for the others, against good security given to the marshal. Those who bought the first-mentioned were permitted to live outside the prison within the precincts described. In the forties of last century this prison, then the Queen's Bench, was incorporated with the Fleet and the Marshalsea under the name of the Queen's Prison for debtors and prisoners committed for libel, assault, etc. The building was finally demolished in 1880.

V.—SOUTHWARK FAIR.

*“The cord beneath the dancer springs,
Aloft in air the vaulter swings;
Distorted now, now prone depends,
Now through his twisted arms ascends.”*

Fables, I., xl., GAY.

The roadway between the Tabard and St. George's Church was formerly given up annually, from three to fourteen days, to the celebration of the Lady Fair of Southwark.

The fair originated in 1462, when Edward IV. granted a charter empowering the City of London to hold a fair in Southwark every year on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September, the Eve, Feast, and Morrow of the Nativity, whence the name of Lady Fair—with all the liberties to such fairs appertaining, together with a Court of Pye Powder. The charter was renewed by Edward VI. in 1550.

The fair in Southwark followed immediately upon the more famous Bartholomew Fair, and the showmen, having no similar fixture for the 10th of September, contrived to spin out their occupation of the Borough until the fair was at length prolonged to a whole fortnight. Here Authority intervened, and in 1743 declared that the fair must henceforward be limited to the original three days. At this the showmen, resenting the curtailment of their harvest, grew restive, and declared they would no longer continue their custom of collecting money for the debtors within the Marshalsea. The latter, naturally enough, infected with the general dissatisfaction, took to throwing stones over their wall upon the crowd outside, whereby one child was killed

and several persons injured. From that time the fair was removed to Suffolk Street and the Mint. It was finally suppressed in 1763, when the High Constable, with 100 inferior officers, forcibly prevented the showmen from erecting their booths.

Evelyn, the diarist, attended the Fair on September the 13th, 1660, and saw "monkeys and asses dance and do other feats of activity on ye tight rope . . . also an Italian wench daunce and performe all the tricks of ye tight rope to admiration . . . likewise here was a man who tooke up a piece of iron cannon of about 400 lb. weight with the hairs of his head only."

Pepys was here in the same year, and again on the 21st of September (the last day of the fair), 1668. "To Southwark Fair, very dirty, and there saw the puppet show of Whittington, which is pretty to see; and how that idle thing do work upon people that see it, and even myself too! and thence to Jacob Hall's dancing on the ropes, where I saw such action as I never saw before, and mightily worth seeing; and here took acquaintance with a fellow who carried me to a tavern, whither came the music (band) of this booth, and by and by Jacob Hall himself, with whom I had a mind to speak, whether he ever had any mischief by falls in his time. He told me 'Yes, many, but never to the breaking of a limb.' He seems a mighty strong man. So giving them a bottle or two of wine, I away with Payne the waterman. He seeking me at the play, did get a link to light me, and so light me to the 'Bear' (at Bridge-foot), where Bland, my waterman, waited for me with gold and other things he kept for me, to the value of £40 and more, which I had about me for fear of my pockets being cut. So by link-light through the Bridge, it being mighty dark, but still weather, and so home."

Hogarth provides us with an illustration in his picture of "Southwark Fair" painted about 1733. The scene is before the old St. George's Church, looking southward to the wooded Surrey Hills. Here are the traditional hat and smock to be raced for; Lee and Harper's theatrical booth about to present "The Siege of Troy" (the sign shows the wooden horse),

while a rival booth promises "The Fall of Bajazet." In the foreground are Figg, the prize-fighter mounted, dancing dogs, *fantoccini*, &c. Behind are waxworks; a rope-dancer, perhaps Signora Violante, who distinguished herself in the reign of George the First; and on the right, sliding down a rope attached above to the battlemented tower of St. George-the-Martyr, is Cadman, the rope-flyer, who broke his neck at Shrewsbury in 1740.

On the right is the signboard of the "Royal Oak," the Minters' Tavern; while in the distance on the left is a "Half-Moon" signboard, but too far south for the present inn of that name.

In the *Daily Post* of Monday, September 10th, 1733, is an advertisement describing the performance of "Lee and Harper's Great Theatrical Booth, in Bowling-Green, behind the Marshalsea," and a printed book exists with the title "Jephthah's Rash Vow, or the Virgin's Sacrifice, a book of the 'droll,' printed and sold by G. Lee in Bluemaid Alley, Southwark."

VI.—ST. GEORGE'S FIELDS.

SHALLOW: "O, Sir John, do you remember since we lay all night in the windmill in ST. GEORGE'S FIELDS?"

FALSTAFF: "We have heard the chimes at midnight, Master Shallow!"

King Henry IV., pt. 1, III., ii.

Shakespeare doubtless knew his South London from his association with the Theatres on Bankside, and probably with the summer theatre also, which existed in his day at Newington Butts. The latter was the property of Philip Henslow, and in it were produced three of Marlowe's most important plays and some of the earlier Shakespearian tragedies. Many, indeed, have been tempted to find in Antonio's advice to Sebastian (*Twelfth Night*, III., iii.),

*"In the south suburbs, at the Elephant
Is best to lodge,"*

an allusion to the Elephant and Castle tavern; although there is no evidence whatever that it existed earlier than the eighteenth century. It was then a low-built roadside inn with an outer gallery, and in all probability derived its name from the crest of the Cutler's Company.

The Newington Butts were established for the exercises of the train-bands and are first mentioned by name in 1558. Here, from 1618 till 1815, were the Fishmongers' Company's almshouses, known by the name of St. Peter's Hospital.

Not only down to Elizabethan times, but for more than a hundred and fifty years later, St. George's Fields were open country south of St. George's Church, except for a few straggling houses which followed the line of the sole highway which

then traversed the fields, the southward continuation of the Borough High Street. Newington Causeway was then a causeway in literal truth, a thoroughfare built up well above the surrounding swampy fields which supported few habitations other than an occasional windmill, such as that which afforded a night's lodging for the fat knight and the "man made after supper of a cheese-paring," his companion.

Only after the completion of Blackfriars Bridge in 1770 were other roadways made: Blackfriars road and its tributaries, the Lambeth, London, Borough, and Westminster Bridge Roads were built up from the marshland, and Stamford Street and New Cut were carried through the more developed land nearer the river. Southwark Bridge Road came much later, after the building of Southwark Bridge, from 1815 to 1819.

In earlier times Paris Gardens and Pye Gardens on Bankside had been the resort of all London. In the eighteenth century they were replaced by a whole host of pleasure gardens further south in St. George's Fields and elsewhere: Vauxhall, Cuper's Gardens (on the land now crossed by Waterloo Bridge Road), the Apollo, and the Flora Tea Gardens, the St. Helena Gardens, Rotherhithe, the Bermondsey Spa, and others. Finch's Grotto Gardens were established about 1760 where is now the headquarters of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade in Southwark Bridge Road. The old Grotto house was burnt down in 1796, but rebuilt as the Goldsmith's Arms, afterwards the Old Grotto New Reviv'd, a stone inserted in the wall bearing the inscription:

*Here Herbs did grow
And Flowers sweet;
But now 'tis called
St. George's Street.*

These were not the Grotto Gardens that *Mrs. Hardcastle*, in Goldsmith's play, sighed for when the new small-pox treatment introduced by Lady Mary Wortley Montague ("since Inoculation began, there is no such thing to be seen as a plain woman") rendered the cultivation of a "Manner" doubly desirable. The "Grotto Gardens" of her aspirations were situated at Ebury Bridge, near the present Victoria Station.

One of the best known of these resorts was the "Dog and Duck" on the grounds now occupied by Bethlem Hospital. Here was discovered a medicinal spring which enjoyed a great reputation, between 1744 and 1770, for the treatment of such diverse conditions as gout, stone, King's evil, sore eyes, and inveterate cancer.

Dr. Johnson, writing to Mrs. Thrale in July, 1771, said, "You despise the Dog and Duck; things that are at hand are always slighted. I remember that Dr. Grevil of Gloucester sent for that water when his wife was in the same danger, but he lived near Malvern and you live near the Dog and Duck. Thus, in difficult cases we naturally trust most that we least know."

Apart from the "medicinal" waters extracted from the swamps of St. George's Fields, custom was attracted to the gardens by a bowling-green, a large swimming-bath (the only one in South London at that period), and by the dubious sport of hunting ducks with dogs. The tavern sign was a low relief carving in stone, now inserted into the front wall of Bethlem; one portion represents a dog with a duck slung across its back, with the date 1776; the other contains the so-called Southwark Cross (in reality the Bridge House mark), *an annulet ensigned with a cross patée, interlaced with a saltire conjoined in base*. The gardens fell into disrepute, and finally were closed in 1799.

St. George's Fields, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, were the scene of two riotous assemblies. The "Wilkites" gathered here in 1768 to demand the release of their hero, John Wilkes, from the King's Bench prison; and twelve years later this was the first rallying point of the Gordon Rioters.

The Obelisk, formerly in the centre of St. George's Circus, was erected to commemorate Brass Crosby, Esquire, who was confined in the Tower "for the conscientious discharge of his magisterial duties." As Lord Mayor, in 1771, he was imprisoned for his refusal to back *press-warrants*. John Wilkes was a City Alderman in the same year, and, as may be imagined, actively assisted Crosby in resisting the high-handed action of Parliament in this matter. The City Council had endeavoured

to abolish the press-gang within the limits of the City, by substituting a system of monetary bonuses to volunteers for service in the Royal Navy. The Obelisk was replaced by the present clock-tower in 1905, and is now to be seen at the north corner of Bethlem grounds.

Bethlem Hospital, originally founded as the Priory of Star of Bethlehem in 1246, was not removed to its present situation until 1815. The older institution in Moorfields was presented to the Lord Mayor and citizens by Henry VIII. in 1546, although not until he had unsuccessfully attempted to sell it to them. The building having fallen into a ruinous condition, a palatial structure was erected in 1675, and above the main doorway was displayed a pair of statues representing "Melancholy and Raving Madness." These sculptures were the work of Caius Gabriel Cibber (1630—1700), the father of Colley Cibber, actor, playwright, and poet-laureate. The original of one of these figures is said to have been a gigantic porter in the service of Oliver Cromwell. The statues were removed to the hall of the present building and were repaired in 1820 by the younger Bacon, the son of the sculptor of the monument in the chapel at Guy's. The figures were finally removed in 1888 to the Guildhall Museum, where they are to be seen to-day, along with the shackles formerly employed in restraining the patients.

Among the benefactions to this hospital occurs this record—

1700 Thomas Guy, Esq. ... £200 0 0

The Surrey Theatre in Blackfriars Road was first built by Charles Hughes and the nautical song writer, Charles Dibdin, in 1782. It was originally started as a circus, but after being burnt down in 1805, it was rebuilt as a playhouse; as the imitation of "hoarse Fitzgerald" in the "Rejected Addresses" tells us—" 'Twas call'd the Circus then, but now the Surrey."

The Halfpenny Hatch mentioned in the same parody was a footpath which ran through Cuper's Gardens, occupying the land between St. John's Church and Christchurch, Blackfriars Road. Curtis's Halfpenny Hatch took its name from William Curtis (1746—1799), who assisted Dr. Fordyce, the physician at St.

Thomas's Hospital, in his lectures on Botany. Curtis, who ultimately became demonstrator of botany to the Society of Apothecaries, had for a time a small botanical garden near Grange Road, but afterwards removed to these larger grounds in 1771. Later still, he transferred his establishment to Brompton.

The name of the footpath is commemorated in Hatch Row, Roupell Street, Lambeth. Near by, Astley instituted his first equestrian displays in 1770. His circus was afterwards removed to the foot of Westminster Bridge.

On the other side of the Blackfriars Road the Surrey Chapel, at the corner of Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Bridge Road, has fallen from its former estate and become a cinema theatre and boxing-ring. It was built in 1783 in hexagonal shape. The Rev. Rowland Hill, who occupied the pulpit, said he liked a round building where there were no corners for the devil to hide in.

It was in Charlotte Street that a gang of quacks established themselves about 1813, widely advertising that the concern was under the control of Dr. *Ashley* Cooper. Many patients were swindled out of large fees under the impression that they had been seen by the fashionable surgeon, Mr. Astley Cooper.

Near the Elephant and Castle stood, in the early nineteenth century, the chapel built by the followers of Joanna Southcote, bearing on its exterior in huge letters "The House of God." Within were mural paintings by one of her disciples, named Carpenter, representing her strange dreams and visions; and a silver cradle for "young Shiloh," the New Messiah, to whom this crazy woman declared herself destined to give birth.

The Surrey Gardens Estate in Walworth, at one time the Surrey Zoological Gardens, was temporarily occupied by St. Thomas's Hospital after its removal from the Borough until the new buildings in Lambeth were completed.

In 1791—1799 were built the Sessions House in Newington Causeway, and, behind it, close to Horsemonger Lane (now Union Road), the Surrey County Gaol, from plans suggested by John Howard, the prison reformer.

VII.—TOOLEY STREET AND BEYOND.

"We, the People of England . . ."

The Petition of

THE THREE TAILORS OF TOOLEY STREET.

The street, formerly known also as "Short Southwark," obtains its name as a corruption of "St. Olave's Street." The patron of the church from which the thoroughfare takes its name was the Norwegian king who invaded England in the year 994. From very early times the two Norwegian martyrs, Olav and his son Magnus, have mounted guard over London Bridge, their responsibility shared for a while by St. Thomas of Canterbury in his chapel in mid-stream.

St. Olave's Church is mentioned as early as 1281 in a grant of certain messuages between the church and the Bridge Yard by John, Earl de Warrenne, to the Abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury. It was rebuilt in 1737, but in the great fire at Topping's Wharf in 1843 the church was burnt "almost to the walls." In the same fire was destroyed Watson's Telegraph Tower, a semaphore station from which messages used to be transmitted with surprising rapidity to the fleet in the Downs.

Opposite the church on the south of the roadway at one time stood a "great house, built of stone with arched gates, pertaining to the prior of St. Pancras, Lewes in Sussex, and was his lodging when he came to London." Like the town-house of the Abbots of Hyde, it was converted to "a common hosterie for travellers" under the sign of The Walnut Tree in Carter, or Kater, Lane. In Queen Elizabeth's reign part of this building was included in the new St. Olave's Grammar School, then founded. A crypt was discovered in 1830 in this lane nearly

opposite the church, and in 1834 another crypt-like chamber (with a plain, massive, round pillar in the centre, and a groined roof) that was supposed to have been the cellar of the hostelry. Both originally belonged to the mansion of the priors of Lewes. They were destroyed in making the Railway Approach.

East of the church stood the town dwelling of the Abbots of St. Augustine, Canterbury, also acquired from the de Warrennes. In the late sixteenth century it fell into the hands of the St. Leger family, whence the name Sellenger (since Chamberlain's) Wharf. Next eastward, the Bridge House and Yard had from early times been used as a storage-place for stones and timber necessary to the maintenance of the bridge. Later, it was used in turn as a public granary, where a reserve of corn was kept, as a brewery, a bakery, and a coalstore. "Next was the Abbot of Battaile's Inn, betwixt the Bridge House and Battaile Bridge; the walks and gardens, thereunto appertaining, on the other side of the way before the gate of the said house, and was called the Maze." Mill Lane, in which Battle Bridge stands to-day, preserves the memory of the tidal mill attached to the same manor. To this lane was transferred the old Borough Compter.

Referring to the site of the Abbot of Battle's Inn, Stow says, "there is now an inn called the Flower-de-Luce, for that the sign is three Flower-de-Luces." This inn is mentioned as early as the reign of Edward VI. in a royal charter, and Taylor, the water-poet, in the following century, includes it in his catalogue of Borough Inns: "*French flowers doth shew there's good French Wine to sell.*"

Eastward where is now Stoney Lane (the southern point of embarkation of a ferry in Roman times) stood the mansion of Sir John Fastolfe who was commander of the English forces in the French Wars, and who in 1429 won the "Battle of Herrings." It has been suggested that from his association with Yarmouth the name of Pickleherring Street has been derived. Others, in this connection, have noted that there is a record of one man's gift of 6,000 herrings and an acre of land to the Abbey of Bermondsey.

St. Olave's Grammar School was founded in 1561, and endowed, among other property, with the "Horseydowne" field for "a term of 500 years at the yearly rent of a red rose payable at midsummer if lawfully demanded." To this day the rent is duly paid by the presentation of a bouquet of red roses to the warden. The school originated in the bequest of a wealthy brewer named Leeke in 1561. Ten years later it was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, and Charles II. extended its charter in 1674. The old school, in Churchyard Alley, opposite St. Olave's Church, was demolished in 1830, and after temporary habitations in Bermondsey Street and in Maze Pond, was finally established in its present situation by the Tower Bridge, and, in 1899, amalgamated with the St. Saviour's Grammar School. The seal, distinguished by *a rose displayed* (the ancient arms of Southwark), represents the master sitting on a high-backed chair at his desk on which is a book, and the rod is conspicuously displayed to the terror of five scholars standing before him. The Rev. James Blenkarne, who had been master of the school for over thirty years before he resigned in 1823, was also for a time the chaplain at Guy's Hospital.

Prior to 1828, at least, Tooley Street was continued no farther than Potter's Fields. Fair Street, which was the main thoroughfare beyond, is so named from the popular fair held here annually down to the seventeenth century. Horselydown (otherwise, in the past, Horsehighdown, Horseydown, Horsedown, Horsadown) was used as a grazing ground for horses, although some of the natives, to this day, cling to the belief that King John's charger once lay down there with his royal master in the saddle. The parish church, with the curious Ionic steeple, of St. John the Evangelist was built in 1732. Immediately to the east of this site formerly stood Pritchard's Alley, where in 1644 or 1645 was born the son of an Anabaptist lighterman who founded, in 1721, to the amazement of the world, a hospital which has not yet ceased to astonish it. Not far away was "the Anabaptist dipping-place," which was among "the remarkable places of this parish."

Artillery Street gets its name from a large space enclosed in 1636 for the drilling of the Southwark trained bands; the drill hall was converted in 1725 into the 'St. Olave's Workhouse, which was reconstructed in 1830. Crucifix Lane is named from the Holy Rood of Grace, removed from the conventual church of Bermondsey Abbey at the Dissolution and set up on the Horselydown Common until it was destroyed in 1559.

No satisfactory explanation has yet been given for the curious name of Shad Thames. It dates from the early eighteenth century, at least, and rather than accept the explanation that it is a corruption of "St. John-at-Thames," one is tempted to attribute to it an origin in common with that of Shadwell across the water where there was once a spring dedicated to Saint Chad. A similar obscurity attaches to Hickman's Folly. That name, as well as a variant—Hickman's Court, occurs in the parish registers of St. Mary Magdalen's as early as 1703. Such "Follies" usually commemorate an unsuccessful venture in building.

St. Saviour's Dock formerly served as the approach to the Abbey of St. Saviour in Bermondsey, from which it derived its name, long before the more westerly dock changed its title from St. Mary Overy's. Here the name was corrupted to "Savory Dock" in the eighteenth century. At that time Jacob's Street and its immediate vicinity were converted into a sort of island by the tidal water in a series of shallow creeks. Tanner Street, or, as it was once called, Five Foot Lane, owes its tortuous line to the course of a stream that formerly discharged itself at Dockhead. This tidal water still supplies many factories on the south side of Tooley Street.

Rotherhithe is of Saxon origin, and has been explained as the "haven of" either "mariners" or "cattle." The popular version of the name has long been Redriffe. A fleet was fitted out here by order of the Black Prince and John of Gaunt. Henry IV., whilst undergoing a cure for leprosy, lodged in this district in "an old stone house," a portion of which is believed to exist in the masonry of some engineering works at Platform Wharf on Rotherhithe Wall.

In later times *Lemuel Gulliver*, that unusual combination, a ship's surgeon and a pretty liar, settled here after his first voyage in the "*Swallow*." Captain Coram, the founder of the "Foundling," lived in Rotherhithe; and Lee-Boo, Prince of the Pelew Islands, who died in 1784, lies in the churchyard. Near the church still flourishes the school of the Amicable Society, founded just three hundred years ago, with the two figures of little scholars of either sex in contemporary dress upon the front of the house.

It was from Redriffe that Henry Fielding embarked on that last fatal voyage that ended, for him, in the English cemetery at Lisbon.

To the south and east the country was, at this period, open fields and meadows, broken by chains of ponds (of which the last remaining is now the ornamental water in Southwark Park) and meandering streams. Early nineteenth century maps show many names which suggest the former character of the country—Providence Island, Reed Bed and Halfpenny Hatch near the Grand Surrey Dock in the Rotherhithe Peninsula, the St. Helena Gardens, numerous Ropewalks, and the still remaining Cherry Garden, have all a rural flavour scarcely realised by the district to-day. The most noted of the pleasure gardens at that time was the Bermondsey Spa (whence Spa Road takes its name) where, about 1770, a chalybeate spring was discovered and exploited. Ten years later the four-acre garden was in full swing as a minor Vauxhall, whose special attractions were a model of the Siege of Gibraltar, painted by the proprietor, Thomas Keyse, and occasional firework displays. In spite (or because) of the merits of the cherry brandy for which the place was particularly noted, the establishment was closed down about 1805.

The Neckinger is an old name. Gerard, 1543—1612, in his "*Herball*," tells us that the "wild willow herbe is to be found nigh to the place of execution at St. Thomas-a-Watering, and by a stile by the Thames Bank near to the Diver's Neckerchiefe on the way to Redriffe." The name is given elsewhere as the *Devol's Neckenger*, and alludes, no doubt, to the hempen cravat.

or "anodyne necklace," that was all the wear at St. Thomas-a-Watering, Tyburn Tree, and other such places of fashionable resort.

Bermondsey Street, called also Barmsie and Barnaby Street, was occupied principally by hatmakers in the eighteenth century. Bermondsey Cross, distinct from the Holy Rood in Crucifix Lane, stood, in earlier times, at the junction with Tooley Street. Gerard speaks of the bitter-sweet as growing "in a ditch side against the garden wall of the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex his house in Bermondsey Streete by London, as you go from the court which is full of trees unto a farm house neere thereunto."

The church of St. Mary Magdalen dates from the thirteenth century. It was a parish church, and so escaped the commissioners at the time of the Dissolution. It has been rebuilt and repaired in 1610, 1680, 1793, and, finally, in 1830. Against the western face of the church stands the tombstone of Mrs. Wood, who in life was tapped for dropsy 97 times and had 461 gallons of water taken from her. The tombstone of the previous record-holder, Mrs. Utton (with 25 tappings and 157 gallons of fluid to her credit), is no more to be seen.

St. Mary Magdalen's possesses among other fine specimens of church plate an exceedingly valuable almsdish, which an unsupported tradition holds to have been once the possession of Bermondsey Abbey. It is of parcel-gilt silver, and in the centre is an engraved medallion of English fourteenth century workmanship, representing a mediæval lady presenting a tilting helm to a kneeling knight in armour. The rim, Spanish work of the fifteenth century, has a trefoil ornament between lobes in repousé. A replica of the dish is in South Kensington Museum.

Bermondsey Square, laid open in 1901 by the Tower Bridge Road, was, at different periods of history, the site of a royal mansion, a monastery, and a manor house.

The district was of some importance in Saxon times as Beormund's Ey, an island of firmer ground rising out of the surrounding marshland. The palace was situated in the Royal

Manor of Bermondsey which William Rufus granted to the monastery, and was an occasional residence of the earlier kings of England. In 1082 Alwin Childe, a wealthy citizen of London, founded a priory of Cluniac monks, which had its own conventual church distinct from the parish church. The monastery became a great focus of pilgrimage both on account of its famous "Rood of Grace," a wooden crucifix found near the Thames. 1117, and for the reputation in treating sickness acquired by the monks.

Shortly after the suppression, the Abbey became the property of Sir Thomas Pope, who pulled down the conventual church and part of the monastery to provide building material for Bermondsey House. This mansion was visited by Queen Elizabeth when the Earl of Essex occupied it. It was destroyed in the seventeenth century, though some of the gates and ruined walls of the monastery existed much later; the North Gatehouse leading to Bermondsey Square was still standing in 1805.

The sole remaining relics to be seen to-day are the hooks projecting from the southern wall of Grange Walk, from which the great east gate of the Abbey, until 1760, depended. Grange Road commemorates a granary, or storehouse for corn, attached to the Abbey. Long Walk, now no more, was once a shady avenue of trees within the Abbey precincts.

Bacon's School in Grange Road was rebuilt in 1890—91. The original bust of the founder in full-bottomed wig and the inscription which accompanied it are preserved in the archway in front of the building; upon the front, "Josiah Bacon, Esq., gave £700 to build this school and £150 a year for educating 60 boys of this his native parish. Thomas Bacon, Esq., his executor completed this structure A.D. 1718"; upon the other side is the date 1703. St. Mary Magdalen's Church preserves a pair of silver-headed beadle's staves formerly belonging to this school. Both bear the almost illegible traces of an inscription, whilst one of them is still surmounted by a little silver effigy of a scholar in the dress of the early eighteenth century.

Of the high roads to the south, the Old Kent Road is by far the oldest. The Romans converted it from an early British trackway to a broad and level road. In Saxon times it was regarded as a continuation of Watling Street. About the spot where it is now joined by Albany Road was, in ancient times, a spring dedicated to the martyr of Canterbury, and known as St. Thomas-a-Watering. Chaucer's pilgrims made their first halt when they had ridden "unto the waterynge of Seint Thomas." It was the south-eastern boundary of the city, and until 1740 was the place of execution for the county of Surrey. One other judicial hanging was conducted here in 1834.

The Hebraic names of Elim and Rephidim Street suggest the existence of a ghetto in this vicinity at the end of the eighteenth century; at that date the southern portion of Weston Street was known as Baal Zephon Street.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital owns a good deal of property in the neighbourhood of the eastern end of Great Dover Street, where its estate office is situated. In Warner Street (which a hundred years ago, enjoyed more dignity as Portland Place) nearly all the houses carry on their walls the arms of Bart.'s.

The association of St. Bartholomew's with this vicinity was brought about by the existence of an ancient lazaret-house at the eastern end of Kent (or Tabard) Street. It went by the name of Le Loke or Lock, variously derived from the Anglo-Saxon *loc*, shut or closed, from the seclusion necessary to the patients, or from the French *locques*, rags. The name survived until quite recently in the country to the south of the Paragon Crescent, which answered to the name of Lock's Fields, and, perhaps, still remains to-day in Lock's Square, York Street, Walworth. This hospital for lepers was founded about 1315, and dedicated to St. Leonard and St. Mary. Richard II., in 1399, left between five and six thousand marks to be devoted to the maintenance of lepers at Westminster and at Bermondsey. It has been asserted that "leprosy raged from the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century, when it abated; that it was inconsiderable after the middle of the fourteenth; though not

extinct, it became rare in the fifteenth, and had probably died out by the sixteenth, save in the extreme south-west of England." In its earlier days it was under the control of the monks of Bermondsey Abbey, but it subsequently fell into the hands of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and was appropriated to the cure of venereal patients. Such patients were occasionally transferred to the Loke from St. Thomas's Hospital before that institution established wards for venereal diseases on its own premises. There was a chapel built in the early seventeenth century attached to this hospital. Falling into decay, it was first let in tenements, and, finally, taken down in 1809, and its site laid into the Dover Road. In subsequent road-making operations in 1847 a pointed-arch bridge of the fifteenth century was discovered which had originally spanned the little stream (the Effra, Shore, or Lock) that still ran in the open in 1746 when Kent Street was bordered by hedgerows.

The St. Andrew's burial ground on the south side of the road near the Lock was consecrated in 1711. There was a Parliamentary redoubt near the end of Kent Street at the time of the Civil War. In this same neighbourhood is said to have been the "great trench" constructed by Canute, a reminder that *Southwark* itself means "the southern fortification."

VIII.—ROUND ABOUT GUY'S HOSPITAL.

"Let's talk of graves"

Richard II., iii., 2.

We have already seen that the Maze was originally part of the pleasure grounds attached to the mansion of the Abbots of Battle. This estate fell into the hands of the Copley family about 1472, and remained in their possession until 1623. One of the Copleys married a Weston of Sutton Place, and from this estate and from the names of Melior May Weston and John Webb Weston are derived the names of John Street, Webb Street, Weston Street, Melior Street, and Sutton Street.

The College was built upon the site of the Maze Pond Baptist Chapel. In digging the foundations in 1888 there was discovered a small stone bas-relief ($14\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches), which is believed to have come from the mansion of the Priors of Lewes in the twelfth century.

The Maze was already built upon at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but Snow's Fields were still open fields and tenter-grounds less than a hundred years ago. Rocque's map of 1746 shows a roadway, Collingwood Street, running east and west immediately parallel with the back steps of the Colonnade, meeting Maze Pond by the "Anabaptist Chapel," and, in the other direction, ending abruptly at Ditch Side. The latter was a none too savoury stream, long since enclosed as a sewer, which ran from St. Thomas-a-Watering in the Kent Road towards the Thames, passing behind the yards of the Tabard, George, White Hart, and King's Head. The line of the present roadway in front of the Medical Buildings is shown as Gravel Walk, afterwards Sutton Street. The parallel pathway in front

of the Library and Medical School was at one time known as Queen Street. About 1860 Queen Street was added to "the lunatics' airing-ground" (no longer required for that purpose) to form the Park of Guy's.

To the east of St. Thomas's Street, at a spot marked on the same map as "The Tents," were erected temporary shelters for some of the thousands of Protestant refugees who were driven from their own country, the Palatinate on the borders of the Rhine, by the French in 1708. Subscriptions for their relief were organised in 1711, by William Penn and Dr. Mead, to which Thomas Guy gave £100, "and at the same time the like sum to St. Thomas's Hospital on account of the admission of a great many of those among them who were sick and disabled."

Much of this land, which had previously been used by fell-mongers and tanners and as a burial-ground for St. Thomas's Hospital, was acquired about 1816 by Guy's for use as a Botanic Garden, on condition that St. Thomas's might bury their dead in the graveyard in Snow's Fields. Later still part of this ground lying in the angle between St. Thomas's Street and Maze Pond was rented by Guy's for the Treasurer's stables and for an asphalted tennis-court for the students. Guy's had another and a larger Botanical Garden on the site of St. Stephen's Church, near Long Lane.

In the hospital days of William Rendle (1811—1893) the Southwark antiquary, "Dr. Addison used to take us in a semi-serious, amateur sort of walk to the 'Botanic Gardens,' by the Ship and Shovel, east of Guy's."

The tavern in Steel Yard, now Maze Pond Terrace, just mentioned, was originally built under the style of "The Shovel" in 1704, and appears to have taken its name from the famous Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel who, in that same year had, with Sir George Rooke, captured Gibraltar. In the earlier part of the last century "a continuous stream of pots of *half-and-half* might be seen to pass during the working hours of the day," between the Ship and Shovel, and the dissecting-room. Rendle mentions the Ship as "well known to medical students,

among them Albert Smith, who was a medical student at Guy's"; this is surely incorrect as far as the second assertion is concerned, for A. S. was a Middlesex man.

John Keats, at his entry at the Hospital in 1814, and for the first winter and spring, lodged in Dean Street; in a letter written to a friend he said, "although the Borough is a beastly place in dirt, turnings, and windings, yet No. 8, Dean Street is not difficult to find." Afterwards, acting on the advice of Sir Astley Cooper, he moved to a room above a tallow-chandler's shop in St. Thomas's Street. It was in this room, late one night on his return from spending the evening with Cowden Clark, in Clerkenwell, that he wrote the wonderful sonnet "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer." On July 26th, 1815, he passed with credit as Licentiate of the Apothecaries' Hall, and in the following spring was appointed dresser to Mr. Lucas of Guy's, leaving the Borough shortly after to join his brothers in lodgings in the Poultry.

Sparrick's Row was in existence under that name at least as early as 1825, but we have been unable to discover any information regarding its sponsor.

Crosby Row, in all probability, is named after Brass Crosby, Esq., whom we saw commemorated on the obelisk of St. George's Circus.

The "Welsh Chapel" in Crosby Row was built for, and used by, John Wesley in his earlier years in London. He published, in 1747, under the appropriate title of "Primitive Medicine," a book in which, among other absurdities, this treatment is recommended for "a dry or convulsive asthma"; "Dry and Powder a *Toad*. Make into small Pills, and take one every hour 'till the Convulsions cease." He is said, also, to have advocated for hernia in young children the following procedure—by no means a happy instance of "clerical interference"; "Boil in a pint of milk, egg-shells dried in an oven, and powdered. Feed the child constantly with bread boiled in this milk." As far as we know he published no statistics of his cases.

Snow's Fields are the site of a Roman cemetery. Other Roman remains, in which South London appears to be particularly rich, have been found in Deverell Street, New Kent Road (cemetery), St. George's Fields (coins, urns, tessellated pavement, etc.), the neighbourhood of St. Saviour's and the Borough, and on the site of St. Thomas's Hospital urns and a tessellated pavement have been found. It is not many years since a number of *amphoræ* were discovered when the engine-room of Guy's Hospital was being built. But Guy's is, indeed, situated on historic ground, which needs scarcely more than a scratch to disclose antiquities of all kinds, from bas-reliefs to *bellarmines*, clay pipes to pewter, and Dutch tiles to British skulls. Much of the Park is the site of a "plague-pit," in which the victims of the scourge of 1665 were buried hurriedly by scavengers who furiously smoked tobacco in clay pipes as a prophylactic against infection. Some of the pewter dishes discovered in this pit were still filled with fish-bones, the remains of the latest meal consumed by their owners. The bones discovered beneath the roadway near the dissecting-room probably indicated another burial ground in connection with the hospital.

The royal arms of George III. on the front wall of a public-house in the narrow portion of Newcomen Street came from the gatehouse of old London Bridge. The ownership-plates, inscribed "Mrs. N.," to be seen on many of the houses in the same street denote that these form part of the estate bequeathed by Mrs. Newcomen for the support of the school that bears her name.

Another benefaction of the same kind, but of earlier date, is to be seen in the St. Olave's Girls' School at the end of Maze Pond bearing the effigy of a prim little maiden in Elizabethan dress.

Until late in the last century the parish school stood on the site occupied by the newer houses at 24 and 26, St. Thomas's Street, near by the house of the Beadle of Guy's. The garden behind these same houses was formerly the burial ground of St. Thomas's Church. The former burial ground of Guy's Hospital

in Nelson, now Kipling Street, has been rescued of late from a builder's yard and converted into a playground.

St. Thomas's Street was known in Stow's day as Theeve's Lane. "Foul Lane," now Bedale Street, across the road, kept its unpleasant name much later. Some of the old historians, among whom is Aubrey, assert that Thomas à Becket's father lived in Southwark, close to the spot where later stood the hospital dedicated to St. Thomas. If the old-fashioned history book is to be believed (*it isn't!*) the "Saracen Maid" must have wandered up High Street seeking a husband with the insufficient address "Gilbert, London."

St. Thomas's Church was originally the church of the monastery and hospital, but was diverted to parochial use after the Dissolution. It was rebuilt in 1702, in brickwork, with a square tower closely resembling that of the earlier church. It was converted in 1901 into a Chapter House attached to the Southwark Cathedral.

From St. Thomas's Street, Cox, the medical publisher, issued in 1798, "Medical Reports and Researches," edited by Sir A. Cooper, Dr. Haighton, and Dr. Babington; and as late as 1832, "A Treatise on the Operation of Cupping," by Monson Hills. Cupper to Guy's Hospital. Cox was succeeded in the same premises in St. Thomas's Street by Churchill, another of the great medical publishers. After Churchill left, his shop became a garden, of a few square feet, in which were to be seen a fountain with a live eel in it, and a bench where "Teddy" Cock used to sit, in the shade of what the students of the day irreverently called his "Copaiba tree."

The first complete Bible printed in England was produced in Southwark. It was the version of Miles Coverdale, "imprynted in Southwarke in St. Thomas Hospitale by James Nycolson," in 1536, under the care and patronage of the hospital authorities. There was an earlier printer in Southwark, however, Peter Treveris, whose first book, a quarto, entitled, "Disticha Moralia," appeared in 1514. Among the later printers in the neighbourhood were several established in houses upon the old bridge. Thus,

"A compleat System of Physick," by William Salmon, was published at *the Three Bibles on London Bridge*, 1685/6; whilst "Observations in Surgery," translated from the French by J. S., Surgeon, was printed at the *Looking Glass on London Bridge* in 1740. Another Southwark production is an edition of the text-book whose exactitude the proverbial expression, "according to Cocker," immortalises; "Cocker's Arithmetick, perused and published by John Hawkins, Writing Master, near St. George's Church in Southwark, 1718."

IX.—THE CATHEDRAL.

“Now the same St. Mary Overy is the parish church for the said Mary Magdalen, and for St. Margaret on the Hill, and is called ST. SAVIOUR.”

STOW.

The older name, still remembered to-day, has been variously explained. Modern authorities generally agree to derive it from “St. Mary Ofers,” that is, St. Mary of the Bank or shore; the earlier writers, Stow and Camden, preferred *Over-rey*, *over the water*, on the analogy of Surrey, *Suth-rey*, south of the water. Yet popular belief in a less exacting etymology has long clung to the idea that the church was founded by one Mary o’ the Ferry. or o’ Ferry’s; and with the aid of an effigy of an emaciated corpse (which, like many of the monuments in the church, has been hunted from pillar to post, but is now in the Lady Chapel), has invented a legend which supports the argument to a marvel. Mary, says the story, was the daughter of Awdrey, or Overy, a rich but miserly ferryman who plied between St. Saviour’s Dock and Dowgate in the days before any bridge existed. Awdrey, consumed by curiosity to know how his household would receive the news of his demise, wrapped himself in a shroud and feigned death. The rejoicings of his servants (who proceeded to *wake* him very thoroughly) having answered the question beyond all doubt, the pretended corpse arose from his bier and showed himself among them; when one man, with a blow from an oar made an end of all pretence. The monks of the neighbouring monastery, continues the chronicler (begging the whole question), at first refused burial to the body of a man of whom, living, they had heartily disapproved; but, their Abbot being absent, they succumbed to a bribe, and consented to the interment. When, however, the Abbot returned, he ordered the

body to be exhumed and tied to the back of an ass, which was driven out into the highways through the abbey gates as a warning to any who should likewise venture to offend the church. After much wandering the ass finally deposited his burden at a spot known as St. Thomas-a-Watering in the Old Kent Road.

Meanwhile, Mary's lover (who had not found favour in her father's eyes), hastening to rejoin her, was thrown from his horse and killed; so Mary withdrew from the world and founded a sisterhood of nuns.

Later, according to Stow, this nunnery was converted into a college of priests (who built and maintained the earliest wooden London Bridge) by Swithen, a noble lady. Other historians have it that this reformer was none other than the famous Bishop of Winchester, St. Swithin (a subject of King Ethelwulf, Alfred the Great's father), who was buried on July the 15th, at his own desire in the churchyard of St. Mary Overies where the rain, dripping from the eaves of the church, might fall on his grave. At a later date his body was translated, with much pomp, to a magnificent shrine in Winchester Cathedral.

History is on rather firmer ground in attributing the next change, whereby the priory was refounded in 1106 as a college for canons regular, to a pair of Norman knights, William Pont de l'Arche, at one time treasurer to the Conqueror, and William d'Auncy. In the same year William Gifford, Bishop of Winchester, built the body of the church. Peter de Rupibus rebuilt this after the great fire of 1207, and added a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, which afterward was appointed to the use of the inhabitants of the parish of that name.

Richard II. (whose badge, the White Hart, we have already seen in the Borough), or his subject, John Gower, the poet, rebuilt much of the church. Gower certainly subscribed handsomely, and, in addition, founded a chantry in the chapel of St. John, afterwards converted into the vestry.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Cardinal Beaufort contributed largely to the rebuilding. The arms, *within a bordure componée, argent and azure, France and England, quarterly*

—which he bore as the son of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford—surmounted by a cardinal's hat with its tasselled strings twisted into a true lover's knot, are to be seen carved on a pillar on a south transept.

Bishop Fox (1500—1528) who was Lord Privy Seal in 1516 and Minister to Henry VIII. until supplanted by his chaplain Wolsey, erected the fine altar-screen, bearing many points of resemblance with the reredos previously constructed by him at Winchester.

The priory was surrendered in 1539 to Henry VIII., who allowed Bartholomew Linsted, the last prior, to retire on a pension of £100 a year. Henry presented the priory lands to Sir Anthony Brown, whose son became Viscount Montague. A year or so later the church “was purchased of the king by the inhabitants of the Borough, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, putting to his helping hand,” and converted into “the largest parish church in the kingdom” under the name of St. Saviour's (from the dedication of Bermondsey Abbey, then recently suppressed) for the united parishes of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Margaret-on-the-Hill. In the Lady Chapel, in Mary's reign, Dr. Gardiner conducted the trial of Rogers and Hooper, who were lodged meantime in the Compter and in the Clink prison.

In Queen Elizabeth's reign the parish let the chapel, shut off from the aisles and chancel by doorways, to one Wyat, who used it as a bakehouse. In 1607 Henry Wilson, then tenant of the chapel of the Holy Virgin, applied to remove a tomb, “which was very friendly consented to” ! Later still it was used for hog styes, until, in 1642, it was restored to its original condition.

After so much desecration it is, perhaps, not surprising that this marvel of bad taste was allowed to be inscribed on the tomb of Lionel Lockyer, licensed physician and chemist of the time of Charles II. :—

*“Here Lockyer lyes interred, enough his name
Speaks one hath few competitors in Fame;
A name so great, so general it may scorn
Inscriptions which do vulgar tombs adorn.*

*A diminution 'tis to write in verse
His eulogies which most men's mouths rehearse.
His virtues and his pills are so well known
That envy can't confine them under stone;
But they'll survive his dust and not expire
Till all things else, at th' universal fire—
This verse is lost—his Pill embalms him safe
To future times without an epitaph."*

He deceased April 26, A.D. 1672.
Aged 72.

Nevertheless, his *Pilulæ Radii Solis Extractæ* have not survived his vulgar tomb which may still be seen with a crude recumbent effigy of the "famous Empiric" in thick curled wig and furred gown.

Of the dramatists and actors associated with the Elizabethan Bankside, Edmund Shakespeare (brother of William) was buried, in 1607, within the church; as was Philip Henslowe a year later, and John Fletcher (Beaumont's partner) in 1625. Philip Massinger, in 1639, was interred in the churchyard.

Hollar drew his picture-map of London in 1649 from the top of the church tower.

Dr. Henry Sacheverell was chaplain here from 1705 to 1709. One of his auditors at Lichfield Cathedral during his famous preaching tour was Samuel Johnson, then aged rather less than three, who in later life came to live near St. Saviour's.

In the eighteenth century the interior suffered much at the hands of vandals who attempted to improve it by the light of the "taste" of the period. The fine altar-screen was smothered in oak columns, painted commandments, whole length portraits of Moses and Aaron, flying cherubim, and the like. Traceried windows were destroyed, stone columns were cased in brick, and timber framework covered with tiles was erected on the exterior of the north transept. The treatment was little better in the early nineteenth century, when a scheme to demolish all

but the tower and to build a new church about it was projected, but fortunately came to nothing. The new approach to the bridge carried off the Bishop's Chapel and narrowly escaped destroying the Lady Chapel with it. In 1838 the nave, already ruinous, was taken down and afterwards rebuilt in accordance with the (appropriately) "Gothic" notions then prevailing. This at length was demolished and in 1890 the present reconstruction was begun.

No detailed description of all the monuments is possible within the compass of the present essay, and only those which have any relation to historical facts mentioned in our perambulation of the Borough can be noticed here.

At the western end of the nave a case displays amongst a number of architectural fragments some Roman remains discovered in the foundations, whilst Roman tesserae are to be seen preserved in the paving of the south choir aisle.

The wooden effigy of a supposed "Crusader" in the north aisle probably commemorates one of the de Warrennes of the time of Edward I. or Edward II. Seymour, writing in 1733, tells us what had happened to it in his day. "Here against the North Wall is placed an antient Figure of a Knight Templar crosslegged in Armour with his dagger drawn in one Hand and holding the Sheath in the other. It is new painted and flourished up and looks somewhat dreadful"—a not uncommon result of ecclesiastical restorations. It is now recumbent once more, painted in monochrome, and deposited in a canopied recess to which it does not belong.

The effigy of John Gower, Chaucer's contemporary and friend, who died in 1408, is well worthy of notice. He is represented attired in a purple gown, with a chaplet of roses about his head, and a collar of SS around his neck. His head is supported by three folios bearing the titles of his works—*Vox Clamantis*, *Speculum Meditantis*, and *Confessio Amantis*. His feet rest upon a lion, and above them, suspended from his crest, is a shield bearing his arms, *argent, on a chevron azure, three leopard's heads, or, langued gules*. Stow adds to this blazon the

supporters, not represented on the monument, *two angels*. In place of a helmet is *an ancient French chapeau, turned up with ermine*, bearing upon it the crest a *talbot, sejant, proper*. Perhaps this crest was in the mind of the seventeenth century proprietor of the "Tabard" when he discarded the old sign.

John Gower in his will left bequests to the staff and patients in four London hospitals. Money was bequeathed not only to the master and priests of St. Thomas's Hospital, but to "every sister professed" and to "each of them who is a nurse of the sick."

The beautiful reredos, considered apart from the modern statuary which has been placed in the niches, was constructed under the direction of Bishop Fox in 1520, shortly after his other altar-screen in Winchester Cathedral, with which it has much in common. The distinctive features of the Southwark screen are the grotesque carvings in the spandrels of men chasing foxes (a *canting* allusion to the bishop's name) and other animals, and between them a fool with a bauble.

It is the fascia with its paschal lambs and pelicans that so strongly suggests an origin in common with that of the Winchester screen, for the *pelican-in-her-piety* was the personal cognisance of Bishop Fox. It is seen elsewhere in St. Saviour's among the carved and painted wooden bosses removed from the groining of the nave which are now stacked in the north transept. The mediæval fabulist conceived the pelican as prone, in times of scarcity, to nourish her young upon blood from a self-inflicted wound in her breast. Alas for sentiment that modern observers should contend that the apparent wound was but the heightened colour normally situated at the extremity of the pelican's bill!

Perhaps it was this altar-screen that inspired John Bacon, R.A., himself a Southwark man, when he introduced into the central medallion of the pediment of the front of Guy's Hospital a *pelican in her piety*. Possibly, also, the sign of "The Pelican" in Southwark Street is an inheritance from an earlier inn associated with this bishop. There was, in 1688, a "Pelican" in Carter, or Kater, Lane, in Tooley Street.

The monument to William Shakespeare has been added to the exhibits of St. Saviour's within the past year on the strength of the rather shadowy claim made on his behalf to a residence within this neighbourhood.

The memorials of four benevolent parishioners of the times of Elizabeth and James I. require our notice. Thomas Cure, a benefactor of the reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, was buried in the north aisle in 1588. He endowed an almshouse near the churchyard. William Emerson, who died in 1575, was, like Cure, an original founder of the grammar school associated with the church. John Trehearne's monument, 1615, is noticeable chiefly on account of the *canting*, or punning, reference to his name in the *three herons* on his coat of arms. John Bingham, like Trehearne, was "a good benefactor to the parish and free school." He was one of those trustees to whom James I. conveyed the Church.

In the south transept are two mural tablets transferred hither in 1901 when St. Thomas's Church was converted into a Chapter House. One commemorates Thomas Cole, Treasurer of St. Thomas's Hospital, who died in 1715. The other, to *Carolus Joye, valetudinariorum quaestor* to the two hospitals, might with more propriety have been placed in the chapel at Guy's, where his body now lies. The inscription continues: "*heic depositus in sacellum Guianum mox aedificandum quam proxime Fundatorem transferendus.*"

The Ancient Corporation of Wardens of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, still exists to administer the many charitable bequests. The corporation, established in 1556 and possessing its own seal, originally comprised six wardens: the Warden of the Great Account, the Warden of the General Poor, or Renter Warden, the Warden of the College (Cure's almshouse), the Warden of the Bells, the Warden of Newcomen's Gift, and the Warden of Young, Spratt, and Jackson's Gifts. The last-named office was abolished in 1884 and a Rector's Warden appointed in his place.

X.—THE BISHOPS' PALACES.

"Arrogant Winchester, that haughty prelate."

King Henry VI., part 1.

When inquiring into the origin of St. Saviour's Cathedral, we found that from its earliest days it has been associated with the bishopric of Winchester. That association was maintained down to 1877 when the church and the district it serves were transferred to the see of Rochester, until, in 1904, Southwark was constituted an independent diocese and St. Saviour's was elevated to cathedral rank. But Winchester Street and Rochester Street within the cathedral precincts have a more precise association than that afforded by ecclesiastical boundaries; the true sponsors were rather a couple of episcopal palaces that in former times stood in this neighbourhood.

Winchester House was a very large building occupying the site which now forms the southern side of Clink Street, and the present Winchester Square formed one of the ten large courts included by the palace. To the south and west of the building was a fine park of 60 or 70 acres, limited on the west by the line of what is now Park Street. The palace was built about 1107, "upon a plot of land pertaining to the Prior of Bermondsey," by William Gifford, the Bishop of Winchester, who founded the priories of St. Mary Overy and Waverley near Farnham. Like the priors and abbots of Hyde, St. Augustine, Lewes, and of Battle, already mentioned, the prior of Waverley had a town-house for his reception when parliamentary or ecclesiastical duties required his presence in London. Waverley House fell into the hands of the Browns (afterwards Lords Montague) at the Dissolution. Yet another of these

mansions was that of the priors of St. Swithin's at Winchester, upon the site where Rochester House afterwards stood.

Bishop Peter de Rupibus, Chancellor and Chief Justice to King John, occupied Winchester House at the time when he founded the hospital of St. Thomas. The famous William of Wykeham lived here after his succession to the bishopric in 1366, and at his death left bequests for prisoners in the Marshalsea and elsewhere, and money to the brethren and sisters of St. Thomas's Hospital that prayers might be said for his soul.

Henry Beaufort, the cardinal in Shakespeare's "King Henry VI.," was another occupant of Winchester House. Within St. Mary Overy's was celebrated, in 1423, the marriage of his niece, Jane Beaufort, with James I. of Scotland, and in the palace afterwards, the wedding feast.

During his residence here in 1473 Bishop Waynflete caused a stone bridge to be built in Bermondsey Street across the stream that the line of Tanner Street represents to-day. At the time of Cade's insurrection he held a parley with the rebels in St. Margaret's Church, and was successful in detaching some of Cade's followers.

Fox, whose altar-screen has recently been restored, was Bishop of Winchester from 1500 to 1528.

Bishop Gardiner was held a prisoner in the palace in 1551, and was still in occupation when Wyatt's rebels attacked the house and utterly destroyed his library. That was a piece of vandalism that had a curious sequel when Bishop William Horne, in his zeal for the reformed religion and to show his hatred of things Roman, in 1561 burnt all the priceless records of St. Saviour's that were written in Latin.

Launcelot Andrewes, the friend of Lord Verulam, appears to have been the last bishop to occupy the palace, and after his time the building fell to baser uses. The Parliamentarians in 1642 converted it to a prison, and Sir Kenelm Digby, among others, was confined in it. At the Restoration it reverted to the see of Winchester, but Bishop Morley leased the property, and so, says Rendle, "in course of time, *Red Cross Street, Queen*

Street (now Quilp Street), *Duke Street* (Great Guildford Street), *Ewer Street*, *Worcester Street*, *Castle Street*, and others came to be," and the palace itself was transformed to prison, work-house, tenements, warehouses, etc.

In 1692 it had become a chapel for Particular Baptists, run by a group of Fifth Monarchy Men. Throughout the eighteenth century the palace fell more and more into a ruinous condition, until a fire in 1814 completed the destruction. There survived nothing but the shell of the great building and the remains of a great rose window, which was imitated in restoring St. Saviour's. Since that time, except for some fragments of masonry incorporated in modern buildings, even the ruins have perished.

In exploring the foundations, it was discovered that the palace had been built upon the site of a Roman villa, placed conveniently near to the southern point of the ferry to which the ancient Stoney Street led.

Rochester House was situated a little further southwards. The bishops of Rochester had had a house in Lambeth where is now Carlisle Street, behind St. Thomas's Hospital, which they occupied down to the time of Bishop Fisher, 1504—1535. In 1543—4 an Act of Parliament sanctioned the exchange of tenements between the Lord Admiral and the Bishop of Rochester, whereby the latter obtained what had been the house of the priors of St. Swithin, in Southwark.

A bishop was still in occupation until 1558, although, when writing his Survey, Stow says, "but well I wot the same of long time hath not been frequented by any bishop, and lieth ruinous for lack of any reparations." In 1604 it was let on lease and afterwards divided into tenements. Along with Winchester House it was sold by Parliament to Thomas Walker. After the Restoration it reverted to the bishop, and was again let on lease. By 1720 the site was occupied by small dwellings.

The name of "Park Street" is not much above a hundred years old. Before that time the street was known as Dead-man's Place, whilst the western continuation of it (now Sumner Street) went by the name of Maid or Maiden Lane. Dead-

man's Place appears to have been so called from the numerous burials of victims of the plague in Tudor and subsequent times. An old burial ground, shown upon maps of a hundred years ago, is now absorbed into the brewery premises. As an alternative derivation, some have attempted to trace the name to "Desmond's Place," alleging that certain Earls of Desmond dwelt there.

Close to the line of Park Street, dividing the bishop's grounds from the pleasure gardens farther west, the maps of the seventeenth century show a narrow stream spanned by numerous small bridges and furnished at one point with a permanent "cucking-stool." This instrument, also known as a tumbrel or trebuchet, consisted of a long lever bearing at its extremity a chair. The occupant of the chair, safely strapped in, could be ducked in the stream to the great enjoyment of the spectators and at no discomfort to them. It was chiefly employed in the treatment of "women that are scolds or are unquiet." More than one pillory—to name another mode of punishment popular at that date—was to be seen in and about the Borough.

St. Saviour's Grammar School was founded by a group of parishioners about 1562, and Queen Elizabeth granted it a charter not many years later. Two of the founders, Thomas Cure, saddler to Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth, and William Emerson (from whose grandson, Thomas, a local benefactor, Emerson, formerly New Thames, Street takes its modern name), and two of the early governors, John Trehearne, gentleman-porter to James I., and John Bingham, saddler to Elizabeth, have all elaborate monuments within the cathedral.

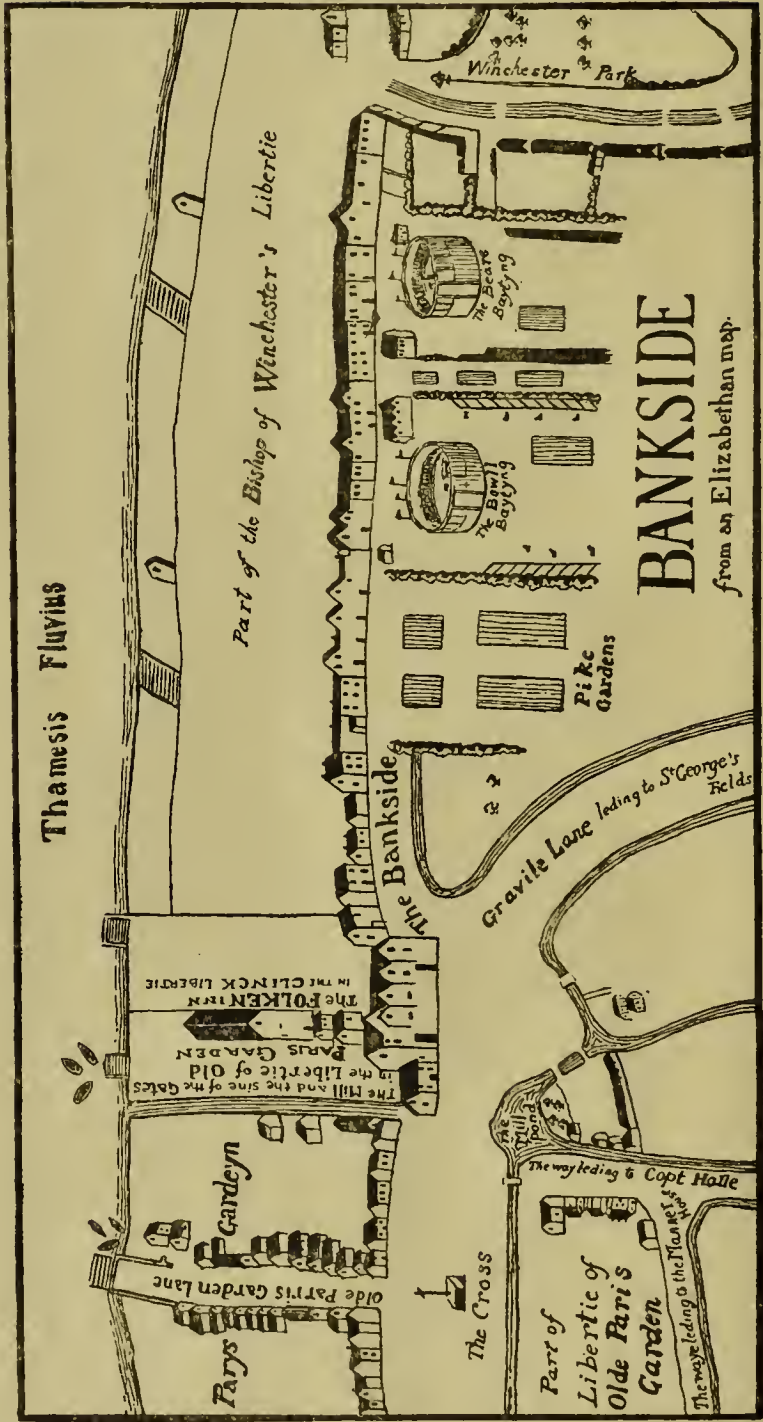
The original Grammar School was situated on the south side of St. Saviour's churchyard. It was burnt down in 1676, but immediately rebuilt, and among the contributions for the purpose was £500 from Dr. Heberden, who had been partially educated at the school. About 1840 the extension of the Borough Market was the cause of its removal to Maid Lane, afterwards renamed Sumner Street, in honour of Bishop Sumner, who, with Messrs. Pott (of the vinegar yard) had been chiefly concerned

in establishing the school in its new situation. In more recent times the school has been amalgamated with that of St. Olave's, and shares with it the large buildings by the foot of Tower Bridge.

Thomas Cure also founded a "college" or almshouse on the tenements of Waverley House in Deadman's Place. In the churchyard Mrs. Dorothy Appleby in 1681 instituted a free school. Near here was also one of the almshouses founded about 1616 by Edward Alleyn. Both Cure's and Alleyn's almshouses have been removed to West Norwood. In the churchyard were also the two almshouses founded by Henry Sprat in 1708.

Prior to 1753 the Borough Market had been held in the High Street, from the bridge as far as the commencement of St. Margaret's Hill. It had become a nuisance to the traffic there, and new sites were suggested. In the year named, petitions were received by the Court of Common Council; one from the parishioners of St. Saviour's against removing it at all, one from St. Olave's recommending Ship Inn Yard (immediately north of St. Thomas's Hospital) as a suitable place, and a third, from other inhabitants of St. Saviour's parish, suggesting a plot of waste ground (of which more hereafter) behind the Greyhound Inn Yard (now Union Street). The same Court first had before it the recommendation to erect a new bridge between that from Fish Street Hill and the Borough and Westminster Bridge. The proposition was assented to, and "the sticklers for a new bridge soon fixed upon the mouth of the Fleet-ditch to the opposite shore"—Blackfriars Bridge.

In 1755 an Act was passed to prevent the holding of any market in the High Street in the Borough of Southwark, and the final choice fell upon "a spot called the Triangle abutting on a place called the Turnstile on the back side of Three Crown Square or Fowle Lane or buildings in Rochester Yard and Dirty Lane and towards Deadman's Place."



FROM THOMAS ALLEN'S "LONDON," 1837.

XI.—THE CLINK AND THE STEWS.

*“Blessed Saynt Saviour
For his naughty behaviour
That dwelt not far from the Stewes
For causing infidelitie
Hath lost his dignitie,
Of him we shall have more news.”*

“A Book entitled *The Fantassie of Idolatrie*,” c. 1540.

Gay’s “*Trivia*,” an amusing description of the London streets in the early eighteenth century is full of warnings to the unwary pedestrian who must defy the bully, “*and thrust him to the muddy kennel’s side*”; to the heedless walker who “*turns off to pore upon the damsel’s face*” and is elbowed aside, lest he “*strike his aching breast against the post*”; and, above all,

*“Where porters hogsheads roll from carts aslope,
Or brewers down steep cellars stretch the rope,
Where counted billets are by carmen toss’d,
Stay thy rash step, and walk without the post.”*

Of these street posts, relics of a more primitive age, when the unpaved footway was parted from the vehicular traffic by a fluid “kennel,” or gutter, alone, the Borough possesses many examples. Along Bankside they are still more numerous, and their ancestors must have afforded ample opportunities to Dr. Johnson, during the years of his residence in the brewery house, for the exercise of his well-known foible of touching each of them with his hand in passing.

In the High Street only one of these dummy cannon bears an inscription; it is placed at the northern side of the entry to King’s Head Yard and is inscribed, “Clink, 1812.” Along the

Bank the legend is frequently amplified to "Clink Liberty," sometimes accompanied by a date as late as 1832.

From early times the manor attached to Winchester Palace, under the jurisdiction of the bishops, had been known as the Liberty of the Clink. Not that its inhabitants enjoyed any special "liberty" in the modern sense; far less, indeed, than did their neighbours within the close of the priory of St. Mary Overy's, which degenerated, after the suppression of the monasteries, into the lawless "Alsatia" of Montague Close. On the contrary, the bishops maintained strict rule within their dominion; the Clink prison, at the corner of Gravel Lane and Maid Lane (now Sumner Street) was ever ready to receive "such as would brabble, frey, or break the Peace on the said Bank," and through his steward or bailiff, the bishop held not only a court-leet, but "a Court of Record on the Bankside for the pleas of debt, trespasses, &c." The manor had an area of about 70 acres, mostly included in the park attached to Winchester House. The Liberty extended north to the Thames, west to Christchurch or Paris Gardens, east to St. Saviour's Dock, and south to the boundary of St. George's parish.

Robert Seymour (1733) gives us the boundaries in detail, and in this transcription of his list the places in italics represent the names which have survived. Part of Church Way (now *Cathedral Street*), Dirty Lane, *Rochester Yard*, *Winchester Street*, Primrose Alley, *St. Saviour's Dockhead*, *Winchester Yard*, *Clinke Street* and *Yard*, part of Deadman's Place (*Park Street*), Globe Alley, Naked-Boy Alley, Vine Street, Maid Lane, Marshal Street, Fountain Alley, *Horseshoe Alley*, *Rose Alley*, *Bear Garden*, New Thames Street (*Emerson Street*), Morse's (*Moss*) Alley, *White Hind Alley*, Barton Court, Gardener's Lane, Back Side, Willy Street, *Red Cross Street*, *Alley*, and *Court*, Angel Court, *Castle Street* and *Lane*, part of Fishmonger's Alley, Queen Street (*Union Street*, west), *Worcester Street*, *Whitecross Street*, Little and Great Bandy Leg Walk (*Guildford Street*), Lower Street, *Ewer Street*, *Duke Street*, Prince's Street, Lowman's Pond (formerly a small expanse of water, now *Loman Street*), *Orange Street*, and *Pepper Street*.

This must
be an error.
The Bishop's
palace

At the Dissolution neither the Palace nor the Liberty was sequestered from the bishops of Winchester, who continued to keep watch over the moral and spiritual welfare of their parishioners. The old prison at the end of Maid Lane fell into decay about 1745, and was abandoned, the prisoners henceforward being lodged in a dwelling-house on Bankside appropriated in its stead. The Gordon Rioters in 1780, having been induced to spare the brewery, turned their attention to the Clink prison, and burnt it to the ground, and "no other prison has since been established for the locality."

Ans. in
1509 or
near
the river
near.

St. Saviour's Dock, where in former times had been the mill attached to the priory of St. Mary Overy, once extended much farther inland. In 1791 the authorities at length realised that it was "filthy, smelled very badly, and annoyed the people," and in consequence ordered a great part of it, some 110 feet of its length, to be filled up. Opposite its present landward extremity above the planks which closed the extremity of a dingy little lane might have been seen, a year ago, a board with the announcement that Primrose Alley was "closed by order of the Clink Commissioners, 30th March, 1854." Both board and alley have now been swallowed up by recent building operations. In 1877 the bishop claimed the exclusive use of the landing place, but his claim was stoutly resisted by the inhabitants, and on their behalf a notice board asserting the public right to use the dock was set up against the wall for all to see, and there it remains to-day. In the same year the diocese was transferred to Rochester, and since that time little more is heard of the Liberty of the Clink, unless we except the note that appeared in a London newspaper in the present year to the effect that "one of the members of a firm established in Southwark for close on 200 years has made public the fact that, as their premises are in the Liberty of the Clink, he is exempt from giving jury service in respect of them, dwellers within the Liberty being qualified in an old Act of Parliament as '*unclean persons, unfit to associate with honest men.*'"

Within the sphere of influence of the bishops, and under their control, were the "Stew-houses," public lupanars which existed before the time of Henry II. Previously regulated by custom alone, in 1162, they were at length legally recognised by Parliament, and rules for their conduct were drawn up. The patents then granted were confirmed in 1345, and at subsequent dates.

At the time of the rebellion under Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball in 1381, "these stew-houses belonging to William Walworth, then Mayor of London, were farmed by Froes (*D. vrouw, G. frau*), of Flanders"; and we can read in Froisart how the rebels "went from street to street and slew all the Flemings that they could find in church or in any other place; there was none respited from death." The mistresses of the stew-houses suffered like their worthier compatriots, for the rebels attacked these houses and pillaged them.

The rebellion collapsed with the death of Wat Tyler at the hands of the Lord Mayor and his followers. Some of the old historians have been uncharitable enough to add that Walworth's action was prompted by resentment at the destruction of his property on Bankside. The Fishmongers' Company, of which Sir William Walworth was a member, still preserve in their Hall across the bridge a sword alleged to be that with which the rebel leader was slain. Tradition has insisted again and again "that the 'dagger' in the City arms was granted at this period in commemoration of Walworth, the Mayor having given Tyler the blow with that instrument which was the prelude to his death." Nevertheless, it has been clearly proved that the short Roman sword was established *in dexter chief* on the City shield long before that time, and represents the weapon of the City's patron, St. Paul.

Of all the bishops of Winchester, the name most frequently associated with the establishments on the Bank is that of Cardinal Beaufort; possibly because one of the houses bore the sign of "The Cardinal's Hat," but mainly from the allusions to this prelate in Shakespeare's "King Henry VI." In that

play, among *Gloster's* many outbursts against the Cardinal, reference is made to his granting "indulgences to sin," and the epithet "Winchester goose," is applied to him. The latter appears to have been a common nick-name for the inmates of the stews, which was still remembered in the early seventeenth century by Taylor, the water-poet, in this neatly-rhymed couplet:

*"Then there's a goose that's lived in Winchester,
And of all geese my mind is least to her!"*

The rules and regulations for the management of the houses, still preserved in the Bodleian, were drawn up in 1430.

In 1506, says Stow, quoting Robert Fabian, "the said stew-houses were for a season inhibited, and the doors closed up, but it was not long ere the houses there were set open again, so many as were permitted, for (as it was said) whereas before were eighteen houses, from thenceforth were appointed to be used but twelve only." Again, in 1535, they were ordered "to be *as far as possible* publicly and entirely suppressed"; and finally, in 1546, "this row of stews was put down by the King's commandment, which was proclaimed by sound of trumpet," and the inhabitants were commanded to "keep good and honest rule as in other places of this realm."

This suppression was not acquiesced in without protest. So good a man as Bishop Latimer, in a sermon preached at Edward VI. (poor child!), strongly averred, in the franker language of Tudor days, that the result of extirpating this primary focus had been to disseminate the mischief over the rest of London. In Queen Mary's reign some attempt at reviving the stews was made, but not persisted in.

Van den Wyngaerde's map of 1543 clearly shows the range of houses lying west of the two episcopal palaces.

According to Stow's description, "These allowed stew-houses had signs on their fronts, towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walls, as a Boar's Head, the Cross Keys, the Gun, the Castle, the Crane, the Cardinal's Hat, the Bell, the Swan, etc."

Some of the houses appear to have been carried on as taverns under the old signs in later days, and not all of them seem to have retrieved their character after the withdrawal of episcopal patronage. Many became the property of Henslowe and, later, of Alleyne, who transferred three of these houses, the Bell, Barge, and Cock, to the property of his wife at his second marriage.

It is possible that Castle Street, leading to Southwark Bridge, owes its name, ultimately, to one of these *houses of resort in the suburbs*, for there was a tavern of the same name in Holland Street in the intervening centuries. The name of Holland Street, also, is associated with "Holland's Leaguer," a house of bad repute in the 17th century, which had originally been the manor-house of the domain of Paris Garden, on a site now traversed by Blackfriars Road. The house was besieged in 1631 by an indignant crowd, and so threatening was the attitude of the apprentices who, as usual, led the tumult, that the owners of the establishment sought the protection of the Southwark trainbands.

Both Castle and Cardinal's Cap are mentioned in the accounts of Sir John Howard, First Duke of Norfolk. Cardinal's Cap Alley was paying rent to the prior of Merton as early as 1468, and still exists under the old name as a long and narrow alleyway immediately west of Emerson Street along the Bank.

Oddly enough, it is on the Middlesex side of the river that we must seek to-day for a direct verbal reminder of these houses. Stew Lane, in Thames Street, still leads to a riverside stairway in Queenhithe between brook's and Maidstone wharves. Stew Lane Stairs are due north of the ancient site on the Bank and are said to have been the only stairs by which the inmates of the bordellos were permitted to land in the City. To mark their forfeiture of civil rights, these miserable women were subjected to many indignities, and even when overtaken by death, if they had not previously renounced their manner of living, were refused Christian burial by the bishops to mark the abhorrence with which their occupation was regarded. "And

therefore there was a plot of ground called the Single Woman's churchyard, appointed for them far from the parish church."

This burial ground was situated behind the Greyhound Yard in the Borough, afterwards cut through to Red Cross Street to form Union Street. This appears to have been one of the sites suggested for the new Borough market in the eighteenth century. It came to be known as the Cross-bones burial ground, and here in 1791 was built the St. Saviour's Charity School where the "red-cap boys and the blue-cap boys to the number of 70" were educated. The graveyard was much overcrowded, and at length was closed to burials by Order in Council, 1853. The ground passed out of the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities in 1862, but building operations were not permitted, and after many years as a site for fairs, roundabouts, and cheap shows, was at length cemented over and enclosed as a factory yard.

XII.—BANKSIDE.

*“ Can this cockpit hold
The vasty fields of France? or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt ? ”*

King Henry V.

Before the Tudor times Bankside was an ill-drained swamp, dark with trees and sparsely inhabited. The district which in 1671 was constituted the parish of Christchurch, now lying on either side of Blackfriars Bridge Road, was formerly the Manor of Paris Garden, so named from Robert de Paris in the reign of Henry II. “ Paris Garden Stairs ” still exist on the riverside to the east of the bridge, but Gerard would seek in vain to-day for “ the hedge hog grasse, growing in watery ditches by Paris Garden bridge ” which he found when collecting the material for his “ Herball ” of 1597. Originally the manor had belonged to the monks of Bermondsey, who sublet it to the Templars and to the Bishop of St. John of Jerusalem. Later, it was in the possession of John Duke of Bedford, and, after the Reformation, it became the property of Francis Langley, a City official, who built the Swan theatre.

From its situation beyond the limits of the City, it became, like other extra-mural districts, the resort of citizens in search of such amusements as were not permitted by the Lord Mayor within his domain. Bull- and bear-baiting were to be found here. Bull-baiting of a sort, indeed, might have been enjoyed at any cattle-market. There was a bull-ring on St. Margaret’s Hill in 1542, in the open street, where any likely young bull,

destined for the meat-market on the western side of the Borough, was first expected to furnish some diversion to anyone who cared to risk his dogs.

On August 14th, 1666, Pepys went with his wife and Mercer to Bear Garden and "saw some good sport of the bulls tossing the dogs—one into the very boxes. But it is a very rude and nasty pleasure." Still the party was not depressed by the recollection, for that was the evening when they all played the fool with fireworks, "mighty merry, smutting one another with candle-grease and soot, till most of us were like devils," and Mercer danced a jig in "a suit of Tom's, like a boy" before they broke up between three and four in the morning. Pepys was on the Bankside again a month later to observe the progress of the Great Fire across the water.

There is little enough about Bear Gardens to-day to suggest its former attractions; but the old maps show the circus which was there in 1520, and the long range of kennels where some 120 mastiffs were kept. Some of the bears were known by name, and certain of them enjoyed a special celebrity; *George Stone*, *Harry Hunks*, and the bear about which *Slender* brags in "*The Merry Wives of Windsor*," *Sackerson*. This sport afterwards incurred official disfavour, and in 1665, Thomas Pride, then High Sheriff of Surrey, ordered the seven bears to be shot. The spirit of the age was against such displays, for, as Macaulay has said, the Puritans "hated bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators."

In Paris Garden and due south of Bridewell, was situated the earliest of the theatres on Bankside, "the Swan." Near by lived Henslowe, Alleyn, Cooke, Kemp, Lowin, Sly, and other Elizabethan actors. The Falcon Draw-dock preserves the name of a celebrated tavern, the Falcon, with which all of them were familiar. Rendle discovered a reference (1598) to another local inn "the *Red Hart*, now called the *Olifant*," which he thought might well have been the much-discussed "*Elephant*" of "*Twelfth Night*," III., iii. Strype's map shows

the existence of an "Elephant" (*sic*) Yard, on Bankside in 1722.

Next came "the Rose" theatre, upon a site commemorated by Rose Alley, which for many years was held by Philip Henslowe. "Sweet as the Rose that grows by Bear Garden!" said Dekker, ironically. Due south of Stew Lane Stairs was "the Hope," in Bear Gardens, where Ben Jonson's "Bartholomew Fair" was produced in 1614. In later years it came to be used for prizefights, and in 1632 for bear-baiting, and finally was destroyed about 1666 to make room for tenements. Both the Rose and the Swan had a similar fate, and after 1620 were only used by gladiators and fencers.

Before the end of the sixteenth century the other theatres were joined by a fourth, the most famous of them all, the "Globe" playhouse. Tradition says that James Burbage constructed it with the actual timbers of his former theatre—*The Theatre*—in Shoreditch. This was a circular building, erected in 1599 upon a site now included within the premises of Barclay and Perkin's brewery, of which one wall, facing on Park Street immediately east of Southwark Bridge, now bears a memorial tablet in low relief. The construction of Southwark Bridge obliterated Globe Alley, but Horseshoe Alley, believed to have formed one of the approaches to the play-house from the river-side, still remains.

In 1603, James I., immediately upon his succession, granted a licence to Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillipps, John Hemmings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowlye, and the rest of their associates, to act at "their now usuall house, called the Globe." The house was burnt down in 1613 by a fire which started in the middle of a performance. Actors and audience escaped safely, without loss of life; "only," says Sir Henry Wotton, "one man had his breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broiled him if he had not by the benefit of a provident wit put it out with a bottle of ale."

The theatre was rebuilt in the year following as a wooden structure, hexagonal in shape externally, circular within, and the stage and galleries alone were protected by a roof thatched with reeds. Above the entrance a figure of Hercules (or Atlas) supporting the globe, with the motto *Totus mundus agit histrionem*, formed the sign.

"The Gull's Horn Book," 1609, by Thomas Dekker, gives some details of the interior of the theatre of the period. The "groundling" or "stinkard" paid one penny for admission to the open yard; by paying a supplement he might ascend thence to the "penny gallery" or the "two-penny room," and so on. Only a person of more importance would engage a seat in the "twelve-penny" or "Lord's roome" next the stage; although the value of this position had depreciated since gallants secured seats upon the stage itself. "By sitting on the stage, you have a sign'd patent to engrosse the whole commoditie of censure; may lawfully presume to be a Girder . . . yet no man shall once offer to hinder you from obtaining the title of an insolent, overweening coxcombe," secure in the knowledge that you are not "to be hunted from thence, though the scarecrows in the yard hoot at you, hisse at you, spit at you; yea, throw durt even in your teeth."

Some fifteen years ago St. Saviour's put up a series of stained-glass windows, commemorative of the playwrights and actors associated with the neighbourhood; and has now added a recumbent statue of William Shakespeare to its exhibits. And yet there is very little evidence to show that the majority of these old players were acquainted with the inside of a church to any extent. In Shakespeare's case particularly it would be idle to follow his biographers in their surmises and conjectures; few of them venture upon assertions that are not qualified by "doubtless." He is said to have lived, at one time, within the Liberty of the Clink; Collier, indeed, forged a document to prove it.

Aubrey tells us that Beaumont and Fletcher lived in the same house on Bankside near the Globe, "having all things in common, even sharing the same clothes between them." Fletcher was less

fortunate in the matter of clothes after his partner was dead and buried in Westminster Abbey; for, Aubrey continues, "the parish clerk told me he was his taylor, and that Mr. Fletcher, staying for a suit of cloaths before he retired into the country, Death stopped his journey and baid him lie here." He died "in the great plague 1625," and was buried in St. Saviour's on the 29th August. Philip Massinger died fourteen years later; and, according to Sir Aston Cockayne, was buried in the same grave with Fletcher.

Philip Henslowe, originally a dyer and starch maker, became lessee of the Rose theatre in 1584. From 1591, till his death in 1616, he was in theatrical partnership with Edward Alleyn, who married his step-daughter in 1592. He lived on Bankside "right over against the Clink," and owned the Pyke (or Pye) Gardens. The last name, still borne by a grimy alley near Love Lane on Bankside, formerly described a piece of land in which were numerous fishponds. The early Elizabethan maps show as shaded rectangles the ponds "which are here to feed Pikes and Tenches fat and to scowre them from the strong and fennish taste."

In 1613 Henslowe was appointed sergeant of the King's bear-garden, to take charge of a lion and other animals presented by the Duke of Savoy. From 1593 to 1609 he kept a business diary in which various money-lending transactions are recorded, which is now preserved in Alleyn's College, at Dulwich. One of the earlier records is dated September 30th, 1594. "Received at Doctor Fostose . . . iij li. xij s." Christopher Marlowe, the author of "Faustus," had been slain at Deptford the year before. Marston, "the new poet," is mentioned in 1599. Among other items, at various times, Massinger, Field, and Daborne, collaborating on a play, ask for £5 on account. "Lent unto Francis Henslowe, to discharge himself out of the White Lion, £5."

Ben Jonson was another of the authors employed by Henslowe. The latter, writing to Alleyn in 1598, says, "I have lost one of my company that hurteth me greatly; that is Gabriel, for he is

slain in Hogsden fields at the hands of Benjamin Jonson." The tragedy was the outcome of a duel at Hoxton between Jonson and Gabriel Spencer. "Rare Ben" narrowly escaped hanging; and was branded on the left thumb with a T, for Tyburn. His "Every Man in his Humour" was played at the Globe, with Shakespeare in one of the minor parts.

Edward Alleyn dwelt "hard by the Clynke by the banksyde near Winchester House." He was born on September 1st, 1566, and lived to become one of the foremost actors of the day. Fuller says he "made any part, especially a majestical one, become him." Heywood called him "Proteus for shapes and Roscius for a tongue." He became a partner in Henslowe's business enterprises, and was finally sole proprietor of sundry play houses, and himself built the Fortune Theatre near Whitecross Street, St. Luke's. He first shared with Henslowe and afterwards succeeded him in the custody of the Bear Garden. He was a vestryman of Saint Saviour's in 1607 and a churchwarden in 1609.

Having amassed a considerable fortune, Alleyn removed from the Clink to a Manor-house at Dulwich in 1607. Aubrey attributes the decision to found the College of God's Gift to the sudden apparition of the Devil himself to Alleyn when he was performing as a demon in one of Shakespeare's plays. Whether or not this was the cause, by 1614 the building, from designs by Inigo Jones, was well under way. It was completed three years later, but difficulties arose in obtaining the Royal permission to settle the property in *mort-main*. Writing in 1618, Lord Verulam, the Chancellor, had said, "I like well that Alleyn playeth the last act of his life so well"; but, nevertheless, he put obstacles in the way when the application came before the King. However, the licence was signed on June 21st, 1619, and Thomas Alleyn, citizen and barber-surgeon was installed as first Warden of the College.

Alleyn still retained his interest in theatrical affairs down to the time of his death in 1626. Besides his College he founded Almshouses in Lamb Alley, Bishopsgate; in Bath Street, St.

Luke's; and in Soap Yard, Southwark. He is said to have played parts in *Lear*, *Othello*, *Romco* and *Juliet*, *Pericles*, and many other plays.

Among other property which had been Henslowe's, but afterwards came into Alleyn's possession, were several of the former stewhouses, as well as the Unicorn, Bell, Barge, and Cock inns.

By 1648 all the theatres had been suppressed, and all of them had disappeared from Bankside before the Restoration. In their place the country was taken over by dyers, as numerous "tenter-grounds" (Fr. *teinture*), on the old maps testify.

In Zoar Street stood, in former times, a chapel in which John Bunyan used to preach.

Sir Christopher Wren is said to have occupied a house, next door to the Falcon Inn, on Bankside, in order that he might observe the building of St. Paul's Cathedral from across the water.

Oliver Goldsmith at one period in his chequered career set up as "a physician in a humble way" upon Bankside. It is at least doubtful if he ever gained a qualification, although the lack of one was no insuperable barrier to practice in his time. He had commenced to study medicine at Edinburgh, but before long had left to spend some time at Leyden, whence he drifted across Europe as far as Padua, and on his return to England in 1756 he declared that he had obtained a medical degree at that University; but his own friends appear to have put little faith in the assertion. Although he contrived to obtain a medical appointment under the East India Company, for some reason or other it was very shortly afterwards revoked. On December 21st, 1758, he presented himself before the Court of Examiners at Surgeon's Hall, Old Bailey, to be examined for appointment as "mate to an hospital." The position was secured by James Bernard, Oliver Goldsmith being "found not qualified for the same." If Tobias Smollett's account may be trusted, *Roderick Random's* knowledge, under precisely similar circumstances, was not put to any very exacting tests; though his friend *John Jackson* was not merely "ploughed," but committed to Bridewell by the Examiners!

When Goldsmith at length fell into the habit of saying, airily, "I do not practise; I make it a rule to prescribe only for my friends," Beauclerk retorted, "Pray, dear Doctor, alter your rule; and prescribe only for your enemies!" Perhaps the advice was accepted, for Goldsmith hastened his own death by insisting upon treating—ever his worst enemy—himself. Against the advice of Dr. Fordyce, who had been called in by Mr. Hawes, the apothecary, he continued to swallow "Dr. James's Fever Powders"—a quack remedy—with fatal consequences.

Charles Hopton's Almshouses in Holland Street were founded about 1730. Blackfriars Bridge was built in 1770. In Albion Place, where the Roadway widens on reaching the Surrey shore, was, from 1788 to 1806, the Rotunda, containing the Lever Museum, which included many of the objects of interest brought home by Captain Cook. The same building afterwards lodged the Surrey Institution. At the White Horse "in Old Gravel Lane, near Hughes's late riding school," was a cockpit, well known in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Since the time when Chaucer's *Miller* in the "Canterbury Tales" thought it necessary to apologise in anticipation for any errors of taste that might be due to the "ale of Southwarke," the district has always been celebrated for its breweries, and one especially has become famous. When first we meet it, it is known as Mr. Halsey's "Anchor" Brewery, a name still retained by the little tavern at the junction of Bankend with Bankside. Halsey sold it to the elder Thrale, who died in 1758 after serving as Sheriff of Surrey and Member for Southwark. To him succeeded his son, Henry Thrale, who has been immortalised by his friendship with the great Dr. Johnson. At his house in Deadman's Place, now Park Street, and at the villa at Streatham, Johnson spent much of his time from their first acquaintance in 1765 to the time of the brewer's death. The house by the brewery was destroyed by fire in 1832, but an armchair and other relics traditionally associated with the lexicographer are still preserved. Johnson's "Life of Congreve,"

and perhaps part of the famous dictionary, were written in this house. Mrs. Thrale, "short, brisk, and plump," lived on the friendliest terms with the blunt old literary autocrat, who objected to her appearing in sombre garments; "What! have not all *insects* gay colours?"

Henry Thrale succeeded his father as Member for Southwark, but was rejected at the election of 1780, when he was already in failing health. He died in the following year, appointing his old friend as one of his executors. It was during a tour of the brewery before the sale that Samuel Johnson delivered himself of that famous pronouncement, "We are not here to sell a parcel of boilers and vats, but the potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice!" Unless he was merely using the rhetoric of the auctioneer, the words testify to the foresight of the speaker, for Thrale, after living beyond his income in his later years, had left the brewery £100,000 in debt, which was easily paid off by the establishment in nine years. Of the partners who made the purchase, for £135,000, Mr. Perkins had previously been manager of the brewery, and both lived to prove the truth of the prophecy. Dr. Johnson survived his friend for three years only. The widow, although 43 years of age and the mother of twelve children, in 1784 married Gabriel Piozzi, a musician. She outlived her second husband, and died in 1821.

During the Gordon Riots the brewery was threatened by the mob, but was saved from destruction by the presence of mind of Mr. Perkins who, by broaching some barrels of porter, diverted the attention of the leaders.

The Borough Hospitals.

I.—ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL.

Bekket's Spittel—Holy Trinity—King's—St. Thomas-the-Apostle.

Originally an "almery," attached to the Priory of St. Mary Overy, this institution was refounded, on an independent basis, by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, about the year 1215. It was primarily a religious institution for the lodgment of the poor and infirm under the control of a Master and brethren of the Augustinian order, and the latter were assisted by lay sisters, whose title is still preserved by the Sister of the ward to-day. Not only were the poor received, but pious ladies seeking to withdraw from the world would endow the hospital with their possessions in return for lodging and sustenance within its walls for the remainder of their lives, and pensioners were sometimes maintained there by wealthy friends.

There was no lack of influential patronage in these early years. The Bishops of Winchester and pious churchmen like Gower were unceasing in benefactions; whilst the City merchants lent powerful support. Sir Richard Whittington added a refuge for deserted women to the hospital, and, at the Reformation, Sir Richard Gresham used his influence with Henry VIII. to prevent its total suppression. At that time the usual charges were trumped up against the head of the institution as an excuse for confiscation; but, meanwhile, Richard Mabbot, the Master thus accused, died, and his successor, Thomas Thirleby, after

a fortnight's tenure of office, surrendered the hospital to the King's Visitors on July 15th, 1538. Henry had already consented to its reconstitution as the "Hospital of the Holy Trinity," when he died and left his son to carry on the work.



**'Frontispiece' of
St. Thomas's Hospital,
1739.**

Urged by Bishop Ridley, Edward VI. invited the Lord Mayor and citizens to undertake its preservation, and it was therefore re-opened under the name of "The King's Hospital," out of

compliment to the young sovereign. Even then the old name persisted on the popular tongue, till finally an adviser with a genius for compromise made the brilliant suggestion that the hospital should be known from that time by the name of St. Thomas, not, however, Henry II.'s "turbulent priest," but St. Thomas the Apostle! Under this style the hospital has remained to the present time.

The medical profession, so far as it existed in Tudor times, had then but a small say in the management; for the hospitals of St. Bartholomew and of St. Thomas still resembled a third of the five Royal Hospitals, Bridewell, in adding to the secondary function of an infirmary the duties of a poorhouse, casual ward, and workhouse combined. Only shortly before 1551 did the City authorities appoint the first surgeon, and not until 1556 did Henry Bull head the list of the physicians who have served St. Thomas's. A list of officers in 1557 sufficiently denotes the importance attaching to the post of surgeon; Clerk and Matron, then "cooke, butler, porter, shoemaker, chirurgeon, barbour, and bedle." Later, the ministrations of surgeon and physician were subjected to competition in the activities of "one to cure sore heads" appointed in 1677, a herb-woman who supplied "physical herbs," 1632, and in 1677, a bone-setter.

To a very small extent the hospital was self-supporting. Patients were made, where possible, to pay for "apothecary's stuff." The parish from which a pauper patient came was expected to contribute something like twelpence for his maintenance whilst in the hospital. Dues were exacted from butchers who had their stalls by the front gates, when the Borough Market was held in High Street, and the tanners who sold "calf-skyennes and hydes" there paid a percentage on their sales to the governors. Women and children were set to remunerative work which was disposed of by the Matron for the benefit of the institution. A hand-mill existed to amuse the more able-bodied and to keep them from idleness; and flax-beating, as at Bridewell, was considered a salutary pastime. Meantime, the disciplinary side of the institution was not lost sight of; the

stocks and whipping-post, which had been used for the correction of refractory patients, were still standing in one of the courts down to the end of the eighteenth century. The treatment of venereal patients comprised a sound whipping before their discharge from the hospital. Church-going on Sundays was encouraged by the confiscation of delinquents' dinners. Nor were the officials exempt from wholesome discipline—not even the nursing staff. A sister, Jane Carpenter, was summarily dismissed for permitting the banns of her projected marriage with a felon (who had been branded in the hand) to be published in church. In 1570 another sister, Joan Thornton, for some misdemeanour received “xii. strypes well layd on.”

The City had received the hospital of Holy Trinity from the King in so ruinous and neglected a condition that in 1552 some thousand or more pounds were necessary to be spent on its repair before it was in a fit state to receive its first 220 inmates, blind, maimed, sick, and helpless. In the year following, the Court of Aldermen appointed three aldermen and three commoners to supervise the administration. Contributions soon fell off, and a general appeal became necessary.

Although the institution was the property of the City, royal patronage was still exercised, although occasionally after an embarrassing fashion. Queen Elizabeth in 1579 commanded that an “almsman” was to be admitted to have room with suite and allowance in the hospital. Charles I. caused Enoch Bostock to be appointed to the surgical staff, and Oliver Cromwell followed suit with Barth Lavender and Thomas Crutchley. Even Bradshaw and Fairfax, under the Commonwealth, managed to place their nominees on the hospital staff.

Hospital administration appears to have fallen on somewhat free-and-easy times, for the Governors indulged themselves with occasional relaxations on hospital funds, as, for instance, a little dinner in 1682 at the Amsterdam Coffehouse in Bartholomew Lane. So lax had become the control in the years that followed that a house was built in 1704 that the Treasurer might supervise the administration with his own eyes. This building still exists in St. Thomas's Street, next the church.

By 1692 the hospital, by reason of the losses occasioned by the destruction of the properties in the great fires of 1666 and 1676, had again fallen into a state of poverty, and the building itself was old, low, and damp. A public appeal was made, therefore, and a list was published of those Governors who had subscribed to the funds, and, in addition, another list of those who had not !

A large sum was raised by this means and the scheme of rebuilding was begun and lasted down to the year 1732. Dr. Benjamin Golding, the historian of St. Thomas's (1819), says that the white stone pilasters afforded a pleasing contrast to the red brick of the building, which bore "a striking similitude to an agreeable private mansion."

There were three quadrangles extending from west to east, parallel with St. Thomas's Street. Fronting on the street was a handsome pair of large iron gates with doors on either side for foot passengers, and fastened to the stone piers on either side a statue representing one of the patients. The front square had a colonnade running round the three sides, and beneath were benches whereon the patients might sit. On the south side beneath an empty niche was an inscription to Thomas Frederick, Esq., governor and donor of the three wards on that side, anno 1708. Opposite a similar inscription ran thus :—

"This building on the North Side of this Court, containing 3 wards, was erected at the charge of Thomas Guy, Esq., citizen and stationer of London, a worthy governor and bountiful benefactor of this hospital, 1707."

Facing the street, the middle of the front quadrangle formed the main frontage. At the top was a clock under a small circular pediment, and beneath it in a niche was a statue of King Edward VI. with a gilt sceptre in his right and the charter in his left hand. A little lower two smaller niches contained figures of a man with a crutch and of a sick woman. Beneath these figures two other niches surmounted by festoons and separated by the royal arms, contained figures of a man with a

wooden leg and of a woman with her arm in a sling. This facade had formerly been erected above the entrance on the western side of the quadrangle, but was removed to this position at the expense of Thomas Guy who caused the gateway already described to be erected in its place.

From the front quadrangle a way under a spacious passage down several steps brought one into the second court, which was "more elegant than the former." It was adorned with Ionic pilasters, and had a colonnade running round it except on the north side, where the chapel was situated. In this, "King Edward's" court, to the south was the parish church; to the north, the hospital chapel; to the east, the Hall (or Court Room) "elevated on Tuscan columns"; and houses for the Preacher, Treasurer, Steward, Cook, Butler, and Accomptant. The square took its name from Scheemaker's fine brass statue of King Edward VI., "a most excellent Prince, of exemplary Piety and Wisdom above his years; the glory and ornament of his age, and most munificent founder of this hospital." It was erected in 1737 at the expense of Charles Joye, Esq., for some time treasurer to the two Southwark hospitals.

To-day one of the houses of this square may still be seen at the bottom of the Post Office yard that opens into Denman Street. Near it is enclosed a part of the original colonnade; and against the old red-brick walls are Ionic pilasters, recalling the lines of Pope :—

*"On some patch'd dog hole ek'd with ends of wall
Then clap four slices of pilaster on't
That lac'd with bits of rustic makes a front."*

A passage through the east side led into the third and oldest of the squares, surrounded by the usual colonnade, above which the walls were ornamented by slender pilasters with very small Ionic capitals. This was named Clayton Court from the benefactor whose statue adorned it. He was satirised under the name of Ishban in Tate's continuation of the "Absalom and Achitopel" of John Dryden.

*“ Ishban, of conscience suited to his trade
As good a saint as usurer ever made.
. . . his dear sedition he'd forswear
And e'en turn loyal to be made a peer.”*

We merely venture to contrast a commentator's note with the judgment expressed upon his monument by his hospital contemporaries :—

“ Sir Robert Clayton, an alderman of this city and one of its members, who remarkably opposed the court. Though he was very avaricious he had offered a large sum to be made a peer, and those who consider the King's (Charles II.'s) wants will believe with me, he was sorry the alderman's money was not tangible.”

He was Lord Mayor in 1680, “ *That year in which the city he did sway He left rebellion in a hopeful way.*”

The inscription on the monument, however, told another tale—

“ To Sir Robert Clayton, Knight, born in Northamptonshire, citizen and Lord Mayor of London, president of this hospital and vice-president of the new workhouse and a bountiful benefactor to it; a just magistrate and a brave defender of the liberty and religion of his country. Who (besides many other instances of charity to the poor) built the girls' ward in Christ's Hospital, gave first toward the rebuilding of this house £600 and left by his will £2,300 to the poor of it. This statue was erected in his lifetime by the governors, AN. DOM. MDCCI. as a monument of their esteem of so much worth; and to preserve his memory after death was by them beautified. ANNO DOM. MDCCXVI.”

Beyond Clayton's Court, was built in 1717 “ a small oblong square ” (the words are Golding's) in which were placed the wards for salivation, Lazarus and Susannah, and a ward of seven beds, called the Cutting ward, where the operation for cutting for stone was performed. In this was also *the Surgery and Bagnio* (bath), *the Theatre*, and *Dead House*, where the

dead bodies are preserved safe till they are interred in an adjoining churchyard. At a later date there were "four wards for unclean patients, the first occupied by the immodest women and the remaining three for men of the same class and character. This was the first (general) hospital in London that had wards in it expressly for syphilitic patients." Before the creation of these wards such patients were transferred to the Loke in Kent Street.

The names of the wards seem frequently to have been changed in the history of St. Thomas's. In 1658 they were known as King's, Jonas (or Jonah), Queen's, Magdalen, Abram (or Abraham), Isaiah, Aaron, Dorcas, Job, Judith, Zebedee, and Noah. By 1693 Isaiah, Aaron, Judith, and Zebedee had disappeared from the list, and had been replaced by Cooke, Tobias, Isaac, Jacob, Lazarus, Susanna, and Abdiel. In 1717 Job, Naples, and Magdalen were built in the back court. Guy's own three wards in the front quadrangle were known as Lydia, Queen's, and Dorcas, and it is pleasant to think that all these names are represented in his own hospital to-day. In 1737, at the completion of the new buildings, many of the old names were dropped in favour of those of royal patrons, and the list then read Lydia, Queen, Dorcas, *Ann, Mary, Elizabeth*, Luke, *Henry, William, Edward*, King's, Jacob, Abraham, *George*, Isaac, Magdalen, Naples, Job, and Lazarus. This fashion has been revived in the St. Thomas's of to-day, where *Edward, Albert, Arthur, George, Leopold, Victoria, Alexandria*, and *Adelaide*, as well as (Sir Robert) *Clayton, Florence* (Nightingale), and *City of London* wards have ousted the old biblical names.

The fabric remained, with but slight alteration, until the front quadrangle was demolished after the rebuilding of London Bridge. It was then replaced by the two tall stone wings, of which the more southerly now remains as the Post Office building.

To-day the hospital in Lambeth preserves few architectural relics from the old institution in Southwark. Scheemaker's beautiful little statue stands in the garden nearest to Westminster

Bridge. The old weatherbeaten stone effigy of Edward VI. looks over the river, and the four figures of cripples that used to surround it on the facade facing the Borough High Street are now grouped on either side of the main entrance. Clayton's statue is at the farthest extremity of the hospital grounds; its surface appears to have been re-worked of late.

The Court Room contains, among other pictures, portraits of Edward VI., William III. and Queen Mary, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Gerard Conyers, Sir John Eyles, and Sir James Campbell. But there is no memorial of Guy.

II.—THOMAS GUY.

“ Well, comes to that, they do say as ’ow ’e built two ’orspitals — Thomas’s and St. Guy’s — that’s w’y they calls ’im Thomas Guy.”

THE DEAN’S DILEMMA, 1908.

Thomas Guy was the eldest son of an Anabaptist lighterman and coalmonger, and was born in Pritchard’s Alley, Fair Street, Horselydown, in 1644 or 1645. At the death of her husband in 1652 Mrs. Guy, with her young family, retired to her native town, Tamworth, on the borders of Warwick and Staffordshire. At the age of 15 young Guy returned to London to be bound apprentice for eight years to John Clarke, junior, bookseller and bookbinder in Mercer’s Hall Porch. At the end of that time Guy was admitted a freeman of the Stationers’ Company, and was received into the livery five years later. He started in business for himself at the corner shop at the junction of Cornhill with Lombard Street near Woolchurch Market and Pope’s Head Alley. After Guy’s death this “Lucky Corner” shop was occupied for a while by his quondam apprentice, Osborne; subsequently became Pidding’s Lottery Office; and was finally demolished when King William Street was made in connection with New London Bridge.

Guy made his start in business by binding and selling Dutch printed bibles, a trade which enjoyed a great, if precarious, success from the fact that bible printing in England was regarded as a monopoly belonging to the King’s Printers, whose productions were highly priced and of inferior quality. In defence of their interests the King’s Printers, by frequent seizures of this foreign stock, put an end to the traffic. For greater security Guy and another London printer, Peter Parker, entered into a

contract with the University of Oxford for their privilege to print bibles; and this association was so successful that Guy gave his shop the sign of the Oxford Arms.

Meantime, however, Guy and Parker had fallen foul of the Stationers' Company, who sought to interfere with their contract with the University. It was alleged by the Company, with what truth it is impossible to say, that the two printers, between them, made over £10,000 profit by their connection with Oxford printing. Finally, after much intriguing, to which the Vice-Chancellor lent his aid, their contract came to an end in 1691.

All this while Guy had kept in touch with Tamworth. After some minor benefactions he presented an almshouse to the town in 1678, and enlarged it in 1692. John Guy, his brother, who was in partnership with him about 1677, when their names appear jointly on titlepages of several of their publications, was associated with some of the earlier benefactions to Tamworth, although in a very minor degree. Little more appears to be known regarding this brother, but there is a donation to the funds of St. Thomas's between the years 1693 and 1720 to the amount of £50 in the name of John Guy.

In 1701 Guy built a new Town Hall. He had contested the Parliamentary election of 1690, but without success. He was elected, however, in 1695, and continued to represent Tamworth in subsequent Parliaments until 1708, when, much to his indignation, his constituents deserted their former allegiance. They repented, however, and again begged him to stand, but he angrily refused, and from that time dissociated himself from politics.

In 1694 he had been pricked for Sheriff in London, but, preferring to pay the £400 forfeit, had declined to serve.

Of his next financial transactions Maitland tells us: "*England* being engag'd in an expensive War against *France*, the poor Seamen on board the Royal Navy, for many Years, instead of Money receiv'd Tickets for their Pay; which those necessitous, but very useful Men, were obliged to dispose of at Thirty, Forty, and sometimes Fifty in the Hundred Discount." Guy invested largely in this traffic; a perfectly legitimate business in

view of the danger that the Government might repudiate its liabilities. What happened eventually was that in 1716 it invited holders of the National Debt to exchange their stock for shares in the historic South Sea Company. Guy seized the opportunity to invest the whole of his Government securities, to the amount of £45,500, in the company. When, in 1720, the insane rush of speculators forced up the price of shares, Guy had begun to sell out his stock at 300 per cent., and by the time it had reached 600 he had sold the last of his property which, originally, he had acquired at no more than 50 or 60 per cent. Thus, within the space of three months, it is asserted, he got more money "than what the Erecting, Furnishing, and Endowing his Hospital amounted to."

The estimate of Thomas Guy that heads this chapter may err on the side of generosity, although the very walls of St. Thomas's proclaimed him "a worthy governor and bountiful benefactor" of that institution, and no less a personage than Sir Robert Peel, writing to his sovereign in September, 1845, refers to Frederic Denison Maurice as "Chaplain of *St. Guy's Hospital*." On the other hand, his detractors cannot be acquitted from the charge of exaggeration.

Within the hospital is preserved an anecdotal picture by a former Academician, C. W. Cope, in which Guy is represented in conference with Dr. Mead and an architect over the plans of the unbuilt hospital. The architect is stated to be Mr. Steer; although it was he who designed the east wing of the front quadrangle erected fourteen years after the completion of the original building which, according to Wilks and Bettany's History, was planned by the "eminent surveyor and architect," Mr. Lane. The fourth figure is evidently intended for the heroine of the best-known anecdote of Guy. It is said that the bookseller had engaged to marry his housekeeper, and that she, presuming too far on a *fiancée's* privileges, ordered some paviors who were at work upon the footway outside his shop, to carry the repairs to some distance farther than his original instructions warranted, saying that she would be answerable to her

master. Guy, on learning what had been done, broke off the match, and employed his money to better purpose by founding hospitals. His first foundation was the almshouse at Tamworth, which he built before the age of 35; so, if, as has been surmised, the incident must be dated by the Order of the Common Council in 1671, by which the tradesmen were compelled to repair the paving in front of their premises, the woman in the picture, uncommonly well preserved for 70 or so, must be still cherishing resentment at a time when her thoughts should be dwelling on other things than matrimony.

That Guy stinted himself in order that others might have the benefit of his money we need not trouble to dispute. It was said that his constant substitute for a tablecloth was either a proof sheet of some book or an old newspaper; that he was also as little nice in regard to his apparel; and that his ultimate rejection as a candidate for Parliament was due to refusal to be at the cost of the lavish banquetting of the electors, customary at that time. Admitting this, we may still question if many have lived to justify better the motto of his hospital than the man who, as Maitland says, "never had his Fellow in this Kingdom, nor perhaps in any other, for such great and extensive Acts of Benevolence and Charity."

Some of the allegations go farther, however. From his frugal habits Guy has been made to figure in certain "miserly" stories. They are to be regarded with suspicion as emanating from a man, John Dunton, who had spoken highly of Thomas Guy while he lived, but published his detractions four years after the philanthropist's death, when Dunton was an irritable man with madness already threatening him.

It seems not unreasonable to regard these stories of avarice by the same light as must be brought to bear on the old illustrations which represent Guy as a miser. They can generally be traced back to earlier originals quite unconnected with Guy. A typical instance is an old engraving representing a miser with the customary attributes of an iron chest and a heap of gold. Although the figure is attired in the costume of a time before that of

Guy, and is supported by a pair of crutches, the illustration has been adopted as a likeness of the man who “rivalled the foundation of Kings” by the simple artifice of adding a slate bearing a “Table of Interest” and a half-open scroll roughly inscribed “Plan of Hospital.”

One of the famous “miser” stories tells of a visit paid to Guy after nightfall by a certain “Vulture” Hopkins seeking advice on the practice of economy. On learning his errand, Guy is said to have put out the farthing candle, declaring that such a matter could be discussed just as well without wasting the light! The value of this anecdote is somewhat discounted when we find such a story, the same in all the essential details, related of “Dumoulin, or rather, Molin, physician.” Hopkins died in his house in Broad Street in 1732, leaving £300,000, of which several thousands were spent on an imposing funeral. John Gay, whose savings had been lost in the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, refers to him in his “Panegyrical Epistle” on that topic. Pope twice names him in his “Epistles in imitation of Horace,” and one of these references is sufficiently appropriate to be quoted here :—

*“When Hopkins dies, a thousand lights attend
The wretch who, living, spared a candle’s end.”*

If Guy was really of a similar character it seems strange that he should have escaped the pillory of that vindictive little poet, unless it was their common friendship with Dr. Mead that turned the scale in his favour.

It was in 1704 that Thomas Guy first became associated with the fortunes of St. Thomas’s Hospital. At that time it was still appealing for funds with which to continue the restoration begun several years previously, and to that purpose inviting wealthy citizens to become Governors. Guy received the green wand, which by old custom signifies election to the Board of Governors, in 1704. Dr. Mead had been appointed physician to the hospital in the previous year, and continued in that office until 1715. Guy may possibly have made his acquaintance earlier, for Mead had a house in Broad Street and frequented

Batson's coffee-house, over against the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill. At any rate, Guy, from his first association with the hospital in Southwark until the time of his death, found in Mead a trusted friend and adviser. In all probability Mead's association with both Christ's Hospital and Bethlem influenced Guy's benefactions to those institutions. To Christ's Hospital Guy bequeathed £400 per annum on condition that the Governors of his own hospital might annually nominate four children to be received and educated there. Only in quite recent times has this condition been modified.

In 1707, says Maitland, "Mr. Guy built and furnish'd at his own Expence, Three Wards, on the North Side of the Outer Court of St. Thomas's Hospital, and gave to the same One hundred Pounds *per annum*, for Eleven Years immediately preceding the Foundation of his Hospital. And some time before his Death, he remov'd the Frontispiece of the said Hospital of St. Thomas which stood over the Gate-way in the Borough, and erected the same in the Place where it at present stands, fronting the Street; and having enlarg'd the Gate-way, rebuilt the Two large Houses on the Sides thereof, and erected the stately Iron Gate between them; all at the Expence of about Three thousand Pounds."

The "frontispiece" referred to was the old stone facade with the stone effigy of King Edward and the smaller figures of patients.

When his operations in South Sea Stock had proved so successful, Guy conceived the idea of further benefiting St. Thomas's by erecting a large building near by for the cure of sick and impotent persons; and for this purpose obtained of St. Thomas's a lease of several parcels of land "within the close of this hospital." By the end of 1721 the site had been cleared of buildings, and in the following spring the foundations were laid down. It is incorrect to say, as often has been said, that the new hospital actually was started as an adjunct to St. Thomas's for the reception of hopeless cripples and invalids, "*the mere despair of surgery*," and that the Governors, after Guy's death,

from motives of personal or corporate ambition traversed the Founder's intentions to set up their institution as a rival to the older hospital.

It was Guy himself who caused the change. Maitland's account, published in 1739, is quite clear on this point. "Altering his Resolution by the Advice of Friends he constituted the Government thereof independent of all others," and would have built his hospital elsewhere than in that low, close, and marshy situation, but that, "to his great regret, 'twas then too late, seeing the building was raised to the second storey."

In 1732 the Governors of his hospital decided to issue a second edition of his Will, together with the Act of Incorporation, adding a preface in their own justification. In this "Advertisement" they state that Guy "*himself apprehended and his suspicions were confirmed by those he consulted, that the word Incurable was of too large and indefinite a signification.*" He repudiated the interpretation popularly given to the word incurable, as comprehending "such as laboured under distempers, loss of limbs, blindness and other natural or accidental deformities, and even age itself"; perceiving that "if taken in such an extensive sense his Hospital must soon have become an Almshouse, into which (to use his own words) Parishes, as well as particular persons, would shift off from themselves the burthen of their dependents and indigent relations, to be provided for during their lives; which he foresaw, and often spoke of with great concern to several of his Executors and other persons." Accordingly, his Will directs that the new hospital is to receive and entertain "four hundred poor persons, or upwards labouring under any distempers, infirmities or disorders *thought capable of relief by physic or surgery*; but who, by reason of the small hopes of their cure or the length of time which for that purpose may be required or thought necessary are or may be adjudged or called incurables, and as such, not proper objects to be received into or continued in the present hospital of St. Thomas, or other hospitals in and by which no provision has been made for distempers deemed or called incurable."

And, "that if my said Executors and Trustees shall not find cause or shall on any account whatsoever not think fit to keep all or great part of the beds or wards in the same intended hospital filled and supplied with sick persons deemed or called Incurable, as aforesaid; it shall and may be lawful for them to cause any number of the said beds or wards to be filled and made use of in like manner and with like patients as the beds in the hospital of Saint Thomas are ordinarily used."

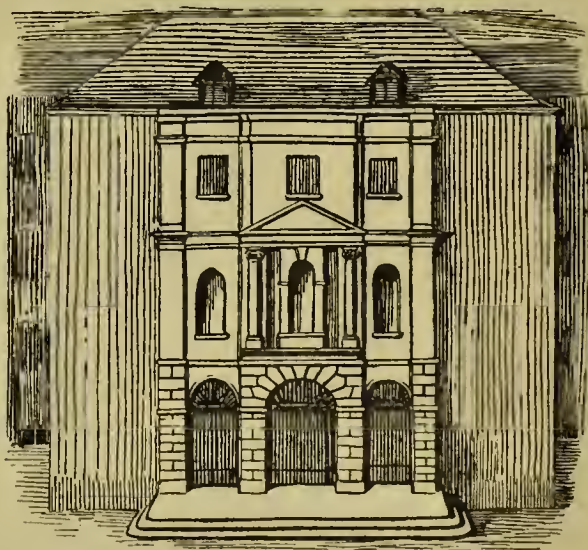
Guy died on December the 27th, 1724, just after the hospital had been completed and a week before the first patients were admitted.

III.—A GUIDE TO GUY'S.

*“ And both my legs are gone to walk
The hospital at Guy’s.”*

Mary, a Pathetic Ballad, TOM HOOD.

At first sight Guy’s Hospital, seen from St. Thomas’s Street, has altered very little since the new facade was completed. The skylight above the old operating theatre has at length been removed in the present year, and now, but for the ward balconies and the alteration in the arch of the iron gate, the appearance of the front is very much what it was in 1780.



THE ORIGINAL FRONT OF GUY'S, 1724-1774.

The balconies were erected a dozen years ago and about the same time the old transverse metal bar supporting the scroll-work and the hospital's arms was bent to the present curve, at no

loss to the appearance of the gate and to the greater convenience of vehicles entering the quadrangle. The obelisk-shaped lamp-posts by which the square was illuminated in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have long since disappeared.

The original building was begun in 1722, and the roof was just put on when Guy died in December, 1724. The hospital then consisted of the two quadrangles and the central colonnade of "Guy's House," as represented in the large engraving by John Bowles. In 1738 the building of the east wing of the front quadrangle was begun. This phase is shown in plan in Rocque's map of 1746 and in the elevations in Dodsley's "London," 1761, and Chamberlain's, 1768, where the eastern wing is shown completed, but where the western half of the present quadrangle is occupied by old gabled buildings nearly up to the statue. The western wing was begun in 1774 and finished in 1780. The view in Maitland's History, 1739, probably drawn from the architect's design, anticipates this completion, which is shown also in the engravings of Harrison, 1776, and Thornton, 1784.

All these views depict the original, simpler facade with three arches, only, of rusticated stonework, and above them vacant niches, of which the central one, flanked on either side by small Ionic columns and surmounted by a small triangular pediment, was evidently intended, originally, to contain an effigy of the Founder. All this was altered between the years 1774 and 1780 to the front that we now know. The former width is still indicated by the extent of the uppermost of the steps, and, above, by the space enclosed by the four demi-columns, whose depth, greater than that of the two Ionic pilasters at the sides, causes the middle portion and the great triangular pediment which crowns it to project slightly in front of the rest of the facade.

Whilst Jupp, the architect, was engaged in making these structural alterations, Bacon was at work on the sculptural ornaments. The statues in the niches represent *Æsculapius*, the god of medicine, and *Hygeia*, his daughter, the goddess of health. *Æsculapius* is represented with two of his attributes,

the knotted staff which typifies the arduous nature of his profession, and the serpent, the symbol of prudence and foresight. Between the four half-columns are three basso-relievos, illustrating eighteenth century practice in the matter of blood-letting. To the left a child holds a vessel containing a leech, curiously reminiscent of the early signature of that great Bart.'s man, John Leech. In the middle is displayed a twisted, wreath-like tourniquet. The babe on the right has both hands engaged; in one hand is held an ordinary lancet; in the other, an old-fashioned many-bladed "scarificator." This fearsome instrument Monson Hills, in his book on Cupping, describes as sometimes possessing as many as 8, 10, 12, or even 15 lancet-blades which were released, after the box had been applied to the patient, by pulling a trigger. Hills himself got better results with fewer blades. The instrument may be studied in Dr. Cock's collection in the Gordon Museum.

The pediment surmounting the central part of the broken architrave, shows a medallion with a female figure holding a tightly-swaddled infant, supported by "the kind life-rendering pelican" and her young, "repasted with her blood." On either side of the medallion is a semi-recumbent patient.

There is a marked resemblance between the front of another London building and this facade of Jupp's. The Session's House on Clerkenwell Green was built between 1779 and 1782 "from the designs of Mr. Rogers." The front is of stone and presents a rustic basement supporting Ionic columns and pilasters surmounted by an architrave and pediment. It differs only in the low-relief medallions and ornaments by Nollekens that take the place of Bacon's sculptures in high relief and in the round. One wonders if Mr. Jupp was aware of Mr. Rogers's designs!

In the centre of the older or east wing of the quadrangle is the entrance to the Governors' Court Room. Within the Counting House, on the ground floor, hangs a fine portrait by Johann Zoffany (1735—1810) of the father of William Hunt. Here, too, is the gold ring known as Guy's, in which is set a miniature portrait, probably not contemporary, of the Founder. In

the Superintendent's dining-room, immediately behind the office, is the one authentic portrait of Guy within the institution, painted in 1706 by John Vanderbank (1694—1734), and bequeathed to the hospital by Mr. Butterworth in 1860. Here also hangs the original of the well-known picture, by C. W. Cope, R.A., representing Guy in his Lombard Street bookshop conferring with Dr. Mead and the architect who furnished the designs for two original squares of the hospital. In the hall, outside the Counting House, is a portrait, chiefly remarkable for the glimpse of the hospital front, which forms the background. An ivory-headed walking-cane, said to have belonged to Thomas Guy, is also preserved in the building. Ascending the splendid carved staircase and passing a number of portraits of more recent members of the Staff, we arrive first at the Committee Room, where, besides a number of fine Sheraton chairs and, above the fireplace, a curious old flower painting, is a great iron box (with a most intricate lock) which formerly lodged the official seal of the hospital. Perhaps this is the veritable "Iron Chest" in which the executors discovered, after Guy's death, the odd thousand pounds in cash which they used to defray the expense of that "very pompous" funeral, with "no less than Forty Coaches with Six Horses each." In this imposing march from Mercer's Hall in Cheapside, where the body had been lying in state for several days, to St. Thomas's Church, 200 blue-coat boys from Christ's Hospital walked in the procession and sang before the hearse.

The great room beyond is the Court Room, in which we at once notice the fine carved woodwork, the painted ceiling, and the tall portraits let into the panels of the wall. The painting on the ceiling by Sir James Thornhill (1675—1734), a grand-nephew of the great physician, Sydenham, represents the "Apotheosis of Thomas Guy," who is depicted grasping a beehive—the symbol of Industry. The portraits upon the walls represent Guy, painted by Richard Dahl (1656—1743), and three Treasurers, "King" Harrison, Mr. Turner, and Mr. Cosmo Bonsor.

The statue of brass in the centre of the front quadrangle was the work of Peter Scheemakers. The likeness was probably worked from the plaster death-mask of Guy's face, for this is the oldest countenance among the several representations about the place. The model was submitted to the Governors in 1731, and approved, and the statue finally erected three years later, at a cost of 500 guineas. Charles Joye, then Treasurer of the two Hospitals, was inspired by it to commission the sculptor to produce a similar statue of Edward VI., at the same cost.

"In the chapel (shouldering God's altar)," says Pennant (1793), "is another statue of Mr. Guy." The phrase which Pennant here quotes seems to imply an unworthy sneer at the monument as extravagant and pretentious, with an allusion to the miser with whose name Guy's is sometimes associated. The lines are from Pope :—

*"When Hopkins dies a thousand lights attend
The wretch who, living, spared a candle's end;
Shouldering God's Altar a vile image stands,
Belies his features, nay, extends his hands;
That live-long wig which Gorgon's self might own,
Eternal buckle takes in Parian stone."*

Pope's own note on these lines runs thus:—"Ridicule the wretched taste of carving large periwigs on bustos of which there are several vile examples among the tombs of Westminster and elsewhere."

The marble, which is the work of John Bacon, R.A. (1740—1790), was set up in the chapel in 1779 and represents the Founder in his livery gown, raising a sick man, whilst, in the background, a couple of porters are carrying a patient upon a curious table-like stretcher into the hospital. The circular medallions below represent, on the right, the customary figure of Charity protecting little children, and, on the left, three maidens, one of whom bears the beehive of industry, another a serpent and a mirror, and a third, a bridle. The inscription runs :—

"Underneath are deposited the remains of THOMAS GUY, citizen of London, member of Parliament, and the sole founder

of this hospital in his lifetime. It is peculiar to this beneficent man to have persevered, during a long course of prosperity and industry, in pouring forth to the wants of others all that he had earned by labour or withheld from self-indulgence. Warm with philanthropy and exalted by charity, his mind expanded to those noble affections which grow but too rarely from the most elevated pursuits. After administering with extensive bounty to the claims of consanguinity, he established this asylum for that stage of languor and disease that charity had not reached; he provided a retreat for hopeless insanity, and rivalled the endowment of Kings. He died the 27th of December, 1724, in the 80th year of his age."

There is little else to detain us in the rest of the florid little chapel. More interest is attached to the crypt beneath. Here are "the Remains of Thomas Guy, Founder of this Hospital, who died 27 December, 1724, aged 80. Removed from the Vault under St. Thomas's Church to this Place in September, 1780." Only in the latter year was the chapel completed. Close by is a tomb whereon is carved the Grand Cross, ribbon, and motto of the Guelphic Order of Hanover, founded by William IV. in 1818. Here lies Sir Astley Paston Cooper, Baronet, who died 12th February, 1841. Near by another inscription indicates "The Body of Charles Joye, Esq., Treasurer of St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospital, who died December 20, 1737, aged 67 years. To be removed into Guy's Chapel when built and lay'd as near as possible may be to the body of the Founder. By Order of the Court of Committees of Guy's Hospital, dated 7th January, 1738." We have already seen a Latin version of the same inscription upon a mural slab in St. Saviour's.

Richard Stocker, Apothecary to Guy's (died 1843), his wife and four small children are commemorated at great length. James Franck, surgeon (died 1782), a chaplain named Avory, George Brough, and Mr. and Mrs. Hollington are all buried here. Two other tombs alone remain for detailed description.

John Belchier, surgeon (died 1785, æt. 78), was buried here, by his own direction, with iron nails in his coffin which

was to be filled with sawdust. His object was to accelerate decomposition in order to frustrate any attempt at body snatching.

William Hunt (1751—1829), the “second Founder” of Guy’s, is buried in the crypt, in the tomb on the south side with no plate or sign. The newspaper “John Bull” of Sunday, October 4th, 1829, has a detailed account of Hunt’s burial in “the vault of Guy’s Hospital,” a place which he chose for interment rather than Tothill Fields in order that on no account should his bones be allowed to mingle with those of “that villain, my brother.”

He, too, had an inordinate horror of involuntary “resurrection” and of premature burial. He had gummed to the front page of his will an advertisement of “patent and self-closing and unopenable iron coffins,” and had left directions that he should be buried in an iron or stone coffin, but not till undoubted signs of putrefaction should have appeared. This same newspaper unkindly suggests that he had selected the Guy’s vault “to secure himself from the resurrection men, upon the principle, we suppose, that *there is honour among thieves*, and that by throwing himself upon the hospitality of the surgeons, he ensured his own safety.” It is easily understood why he desired no inscription that would indicate his resting place. The *Morning Post* of the day following confirms the fact of his burial in this crypt, and describes the reception of his funeral carriage after its journey by road from the Petersham estate near Richmond by the Hospital authorities. The bulk of his fortune, acquired in the silk trade, to the amount of £180,000 he bequeathed to Guy’s Hospital on condition that accommodation should be built and fitted up for a hundred more patients than the original founder provided for. This was done, and the extra patients were temporarily lodged in old warehouses until “Hunt’s House,” the great medical building, was completed in 1853.

Within the colonnade the first object of interest is the early Victorian beadle’s staff clamped to the doorway of the porter’s lodge. On state occasions the head porter carries a tall staff with a silver head, on which are the hospital arms, dating from the early eighteenth century. The tessellated pavement was laid

down in the place of the old flagstones in 1899, at the same time that the plain iron barrier gave way to the fanciful modern gateway. About that time, also, the wooden staircase by Cornelius was modernised into one of iron and stone, a metamorphosis that had overtaken the northern stairway in 1867. The old operating theatre which, with its pyramid of glass skylight, has recently been demolished, dated no earlier than 1867, despite its venerable appearance. It is probable that the earlier theatre occupied the same site, for the oldest prints show a large flat skylight in much the same position.

Before the completion of the west wing of the front quadrangle the hospital Chapel occupied the corridor on the first floor above the colonnade. After the services were conducted in the new building, this corridor became, in 1788, the Chapel Ward for convalescents. In the same year the two wards on the ground floor were created by taking in the arcade that up to that time had extended all round the east and west quadrangles.

Cornelius was opened at the end of 1808, but its neighbour—Accident (recently become Astley Cooper)—had been in full working order for some years previously. Guy's has generally been conservative in its retention of the old ward names. It is only in comparatively recent years that a tendency has arisen to commemorate its more famous surgeons and physicians in the nomenclature of its wards.

John Howard, the philanthropist, visiting the hospital in 1788, reported that some of the wards were far too low pitched, only $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The wooden-framed bedsteads then in use will readily explain why, when Mr. Harrison succeeded to the office of Treasurer, there existed an important official with a yearly salary of £40 (the same as that of the surgeons) . . . the bug catcher.

"Clinical" was first built in 1774 and re-built in 1797. From 1774 to 1860 it was occupied only by lunatics, and of these only female patients were admitted after 1793. To create a mental picture of these wards in their former state it is necessary to imagine an interior wall on either side between the supporting

pillars; to subdivide the space remaining by partitions erected between each of the windows and to block up the latter, all but the semicircular section at the top: the resulting compartments represent the double row of cells in which the lunatics were confined, with an alley-way between which was lighted from the roof. The building was at one time surrounded by a high wall that bounded the "Lunatics' Airing Ground" before that was thrown open to the Park.

Previous to the final exclusion of mental cases, the Clinical wards were Job and Lydia, of which the adjoining ends formed a large room for the "clinicals," reached by a flight of stairs from the quadrangle between Cornelius and the old library that occupied the north-west angle. Within recent memory there was a flight of steps, from the same central point of the western side of the square, leading downwards to the alley that formed the approach to the old chemistry department. Here in the laboratories behind the ancient theatre are two relics of antiquity. Beneath the flooring of the smaller room is the original marble bath that served the needs of the four hundred patients in the hospital in its early days. It is six or seven feet in length by about three feet in width and five in depth; and by the four short flights of steps at the extremities and sides are inlaid bands of old Dutch tiles. In the room next beyond is an oval medallion with festoons on either side, in white marble. This Pennant tells us represents "the great and pious Boyle," the famous seventeenth century chemist and physicist. From the style of the medallion we may guess it to have been produced somewhere about the year 1770, when the famous old Chemistry Theatre was built for Dr. Saunders.

The frontispiece to the second edition of Dr. Babington's "Lectures on Chemistry," published in 1816, is an engraved view of the well of this theatre, the same in all essentials as it remains to-day. Many generations of Guy's men, seated on those uncomfortable benches, have been enabled to experience a sense of personal contact, if one may so express it, with the great men of the past.

The dissecting room of the Guy's Medical School was built in 1825, and formed part of the old museum buildings that were demolished when the Gordon Museum was opened. The dissecting room was enlarged and the demonstration theatre was added in 1873.

The alcove from Old London Bridge was put up in the Park in 1861. Two similar alcoves are in existence in the Victoria Park in the east end of London, which, like this, show the Bridge House Mark (or Southwark Cross) carved on the under surface of the key-stone.

In the entrance to the School Buildings is the bust of Sir Astley Cooper which was set up in 1841 and was formerly in the hall of the old museum. Like the older portrait busts in the passage to the Library, it was the work of Joseph Towne (1808—1879), who created the priceless wax-models in the Gordon Museum.

IV.—SOME PHYSICIANS, A SURGEON, AND A POET.

*“ And why should this be thought so odd ?
Can't men have taste who cure a phthisic !
Of poetry though patron god
Apollo patronizes physic.”*

The Newcastle Apothecary, PETER PINDAR.

In any reference to the members of hospital staffs in the early eighteenth century it is inevitable that the physicians receive greater notice than the surgeons. The physicians have always formed an independent corporation from the time when Henry VIII.'s physician, Linacre, formed their College in 1518. From the first the surgeons had been handicapped by association with the barbers in the joint corporation founded in 1540, in the same way that the Apothecaries had been connected with the Grocers until this partnership was dissolved in 1616. The surgeons were longer in obtaining release from their yokefellows. Not until 1745 was the Barber-Surgeons' Company dissolved into its component elements, and it has been said that John Hunter first raised the surgeons to the status of gentlemen. The Apothecaries, despite their independence of the Pepperers, or Grocers, exercised a hybrid profession in which the druggist alternated with something of the nature of the general practitioner of to-day. and it was the latter aspect of their calling that brought them into frequent collision with the Physicians, the consultants of the period. The Court of Star Chamber in June, 1632, decreed that the Apothecaries should make no alterations in prescriptions brought to them to be dispensed; should sell no poisons or medi-

cines without a bill or prescription of a physician, *or upon a bill either written or subscribed by him that either buyeth or taketh the same*, and that all such bills or prescriptions should be retained and filed by the Apothecary as his warrant and order for selling the same. In 1703 the House of Lords decided that the province of the apothecary included not merely the compounding and dispensing of drugs, but the direction and ordering of their administration.

Before the eighteenth century scarcely any instruction in medical subjects was to be obtained in England, and the large majority of physicians gained their knowledge by studying at one or more of the Continental Universities before returning to Oxford or Cambridge to take their degree in Medicine. Physicians on the staff of a hospital at that period rarely visited the wards, and never saw the majority of their patients at all. "The business was transacted by consultations held at the physician's house with the apothecaries who related the patients' cases." Similar meetings were held at certain coffee-houses to which eminent members of the profession resorted, and his choice of a coffee-house was a recognised declaration of the political views to which a physician inclined. As a supporter of the Whigs "Dr. Mead used to go into the City to *Batson's*, and meet all the apothecaries and prescribe." Tories, on the other hand, frequented the other "assemblage of sable suits and tremendous perukes" at *Child's* coffee-house. A definite choice of politics was a necessary prelude to any aspirations a young physician might have towards an appointment to the staff of one of the great London hospitals. After choosing his party and his coffee-house, Sir John Hawkins, in his "*Life of Johnson*," tells us, his next "business was to be indiscriminately obsequious to all men: to appear much abroad and in public places, to increase his acquaintance and form good connexions: in the doing of which, if he were married, a wife that could visit, play at cards and tattle, was oftentimes very serviceable. A candidate for practice pursuing these methods, and exercising the patience of a setting-dog for half a score of years in the expectation of

deaths, resignations, or other accidents that occasion vacancies, at the end thereof either found himself an hospital physician, and, if of Bethlehem, a monopolist one and a very lucrative branch of practice; or doomed to struggle with difficulties for the remainder of his life."

The great London hospitals were divided by the rival political factions. St. Bartholomew's and Bethlem were Tory strongholds, whilst "the hospital of St. Thomas, and that of Guy, in Southwark, were both under the government of dissenters and Whigs; and as soon as any one became physician of either, his fortune was looked upon as made."

It will be remembered that Guy came of an Anabaptist family; and although by his entry into Parliament he must have lapsed into "occasional conformity," it is easily understood how he came to be attracted by the prevailing spirit at St. Thomas's rather than by that of the other Royal Hospital. His professional mentor, Dr. Mead, was strongly committed to the Whig party.

Richard Mead (1673—1754) was the son of a dissenting minister at Stepney who had found it necessary to remove with his family to Holland to escape the persecutions which followed upon the discovery of the Rye House Plot. Young Mead was educated at Leyden and Utrecht, and took his degree in medicine at Padua. After his return to England his professional advancement was rapid. He was admitted Fellow of the College of Physicians and M.D. of Oxford; was present at the death-bed of Queen Anne; and, later on, was appointed physician to George II. He was a governor of Bethlem and of Christ's Hospital, and "a great promoter" and governor of Captain Coram's Foundling Hospital. An episode in his early professional career has been often related. Mead, after a prolonged sitting in the exercise of a hospitality for which he was famous throughout his life, was called at midnight to attend a duchess whose indisposition was likewise to be attributed to too generous a table. At the bedside the physician stumbled, but pulled himself together with the exclamation, in self-reproof, "Drunk, by

God ! ” The duchess, impressed by the correctness with which, apparently, he had diagnosed her case, implored him to keep her secret, promising to advance him by every means in her power, “ and Mead made his fortune.”

The same anecdote, *mutato nomine*, was still doing service a century later. Bransby Cooper, in his “ Life ” of his uncle, tells precisely the same story of Dr. Fordyce, naming as his authority, Mr. Whitfield, “ the late apothecary of St. Thomas’s.”

Another factor in Mead’s progress was the success with which he cultivated the good graces of Dr. Radcliffe, to whose practice he ultimately succeeded.

Besides these aids to fortune, the contemporary gossip of Batson’s added the influence exercised by his father. “ It has been said that when Mead began to practise he was a constant frequenter of the meeting at Stepney where his father preached ; and that when he was sent for out of the assembly, which he often was, his father would in his prayer insert a petition in behalf of the sick person.”

Nevertheless, it is said that he raised the medical character to such a height of dignity as was never seen in this or any other country. His name is enshrined in one of Johnson’s splendid phrases, “ Dr. Mead lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man.”

His contemporary upon the staff of St. Thomas’s, William Cheselden (1688—1752), was a man of almost equal celebrity. He was a surgeon who specialized in ophthalmic work. Pope, describing himself as “ far from a lynx,” refers to both men in one of his “ Epistles.”

“ I’ll do what Mead and Cheselden advise

To keep these limbs and to preserve these eyes.”

A curious—but improbable—story is told of Cheselden discovering in an obscure country town a blacksmith who was “ in the habit of performing the operation for extracting the cataract.” The surgeon, much struck by the performance, was pleased to instruct the man in the orthodox methods, and at a subsequent visit asking him what progress he had made, received this reply:

“ Ah, sir, you spoilt my trade, for after you explained to me what I had been doing, I never dared try again.”

Surgery was still in the rudimentary stages in England in Cheselden's early days. In 1715, he told Voltaire, he found it necessary to have his instruments specially made for him; and even ten years later it was said that nearly all the surgeons in London were Frenchmen. Lithotomy, although, presumably, at least as old as the Hippocratic Oath, had at that date been revived with success, and it was not long before the Borough hospitals had acquired a special celebrity for this operation. The same Star Chamber decree of 1632, at the instance of the physicians, already quoted, had required “ that no surgeon in London or within seven miles thereof should take off a limb, trepan a head, open a chest or belly, *cut for the stone*, or perform any capital operation such as their own bye-laws require them to call in the attendance of their Wardens or Assistants, unless in the presence of one or more physicians of the College or of His Majesty's physicians ” ; and throughout the eighteenth century the special permission of the hospital governors had to be obtained each time it was proposed to perform this operation. The Borough hospitals early decided to provide “ a convenient place for cutting ” and “ a ward proper for cut patients.”

Dr. James Jurin, the first physician to Guy's Hospital, it is expressly stated, owed his appointment to his professional attainments rather than to any political or other influence.

As became a physician, Jurin took a strong line with regard to the treatment of calculi by non-operative measures, and warmly advocated the internal use of Soap-Lye (by virtue of the contained lime and potash) as a solvent. He afterwards prepared a solution, possessing the same qualities, but less nauseous to the taste, which he named Lixivium Lithonripticum. Although he had employed the remedy upon himself with some success, it was generally voted to be too heroic, and was at length superseded by the improved operative treatment.

To return to the Whig sentiments of the Borough Hospitals, our authority tells us that Mead's success “ was an inducement,

with others of the dissenting ministers, to make physicians of their sons. Oldfield, Clarke, Nesbitt, Lobb, and Munckley were the sons of dissenting teachers, and they generally succeeded." Three of the physicians named were appointed to the Guy's staff. John Oldfield was the son of Joshua Oldfield, of the Maid Lane Presbyterian Chapel, Southwark; he was M.D. of Leyden, and of Cambridge, and was at Guy's from 1724 to 1748. Matthew Clarke (Leyden and Cambridge, 1732—1754) was the son of the minister of the Independent Chapel in Miles Lane. Nicholas Munckley (Leyden, Aberdeen, and Cambridge) was physician to Guy's 1748—1770.

Dr. William M'Ghie was a Scotchman, who qualified in Edinburgh. He had fought on the side of the Government in the rebellion of 1745, "and was engaged in the skirmish at Falkirk, which he ever spoke of as an ill-conducted business." After qualifying he soon turned his eyes towards "the finest prospect a Scotchman ever sees"—the Great North Road—but was discouraged to find London already overstocked with his compatriots, until "by the favour of Dr. Benjamin Avery, the treasurer of Guy's Hospital, who had been a dissenting teacher, and was then at the head of that interest, he was appointed one of the physicians of that charity." He was "one of those few of his country whom Johnson could endure." He was not successful, and dying in poverty, was buried at the expense of his friends."

The verse that heads this chapter insists that there is no inherent incompatibility between Medicine and the Muses. Dr. Mark Akenside, at any rate, had no doubts on the question.

He was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1721, of Presbyterian parents. After a brief period of study for the ministry he changed his aims and became a student of medicine at Edinburgh. He took his degree at Leyden in 1744 and came to London, seeking to establish himself in practice with but indifferent success. Nevertheless, he was appointed Assistant Physician to St. Thomas's in January, 1759, and two months later succeeded to the Senior Staff, where his contemporaries

were Russell and Grieve, and on the surgical side, Cowell, Baker, and Smith. Lettsom, a pupil of Benjamin Cowell, considered Akenside "the most supercilious and unfeeling physician" he had ever known. Lettsom, in after years, devoted his dwelling-house in Bolt Court to the Medical Society of London, to which he presented his library and the "Fothergillian Medal" in honour of his friend and fellow-Quaker, Dr. Fothergill, who had joined him in 1773 in founding the Society. Of him were written the satirical lines :—

*When folks is sick they comes to I.
I physicks, bleeds and sweats 'em;
And, if in spite of that, they die—
What's that to I? I lets 'em.*

Smollett, the novelist, had been unfavourably impressed by Akenside some time before his election to the hospital, and had introduced into "Peregrine Pickle" a caricature of the poet-physician which is sufficiently scathing after due allowance for exaggeration has been made. The *Physician*, "a young man in whose air and countenance appeared all the uncouth gravity and supercilious self-conceit of a physician piping-hot from his studies," was recognisable to his contemporaries without the assistance of a couple of lines borrowed directly from an *Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon* which appeared in the novel.

In spite of his brutality to his patients he seems to have enjoyed a contemporary reputation as a physician of discernment. His chief publications were, in 1744 "The Pleasures of the Imagination," and in 1764 "On Dysentery," the latter in prose.

His poetry is distinctly in the taste of his century, and to-day very few would endorse Dr. Johnson's judgment in preferring Akenside's work to that of Gray. Those who have any acquaintance with the poetry of the first half of the eighteenth century will recognise in it a typical example of the school of verse in which *lucid orb, liquid cloud, blooming youth, conscious grove, shady brink, ardent eyes, and sable tresses* ring the changes with *sublime, genial, limpid, radiant, fancy, bosom, imagination*, and so on.

A brief quotation, where every substantive is attended by its jingling epithet, will illustrate the method :—

*“ I looked, and on the flowery turf there stood
Between two radiant forms, a smiling youth
Whose tender cheeks displayed the vernal flower
Of beauty; sweetest innocence illumed
His bashful eyes, and on his polished brow
Sate young simplicity.”*

Readers will be content to accept this extract as a characteristic example, and, *ex pede Herculem* . . . (although this is not quite the lowest extremity to which Akenside's composition descended) to deduce the rest.

V.—THE PATIENTS.

*“ ’Twas strange, altho’ they got no fees,
How still they watch’d by twos and threes :
But Jack a very little ease
Obtain’d from them ;
In fact, he did not find M.D.’s
Worth one D—M.”*

Jack Hall, TOM HOOD.

Very little is to be learnt of the nursing staff of the eighteenth century. From the list of officials in the early years of Guy’s we know their numbers, rank, and pay: the Matron received £50 yearly, the eleven Sisters, £11 apiece, the eight Nurses £16 each, and the twelve “watchwomen” £10 8s. The regular day staff appear to have been quite distinct from the night nurses, or “watches,” who, according to Golding, did not reside in the hospital, but were women of good character, hired at the weekly allowance to sit up during the night in the wards and, towards morning, were permitted to return to their homes for the day.

The records of the patients are, naturally, fuller. It is rather difficult to realise that in earlier days they were not admitted to the benefits of the hospitals free of cost. In Tudor times the parish recommending a pauper patient for treatment was expected to contribute from eight to twelve pence, representing nearly as many shillings of to-day, weekly towards the patient’s maintenance. It was for the same reason that Thomas Guy, in a later age, “when he met with such diseased and friendless Objects as wanted the help of an Hospital . . . was used to send them to St. Thomas’s, with directions to the Steward to supply them,

at his Expence with Cloaths and such other Necessaries as are not provided by the Hospital." Guy was an unusual type of "miser"! Still, it was the custom of the day to make the parish to which a pauper patient belonged contribute to his maintenance within the hospital, and Guy's own institution followed the practice and usage of St. Thomas's. The philanthropist, John Howard, visiting Guy's in 1788, saw a poor woman paying 2/9 to the nurse, and 6d. to the Steward. Foul patients paid 7s., and every patient on admission had to deposit 20s., or find security for his burial. St. Thomas's was even more expensive; there, foul (or venereal) patients paid 10/6, besides 4d. a day; and all paid the nurses for washing their linen.

The contract which follows is copied from an actual document retained by the Steward of Guy's Hospital on the discharge of a pauper patient from Clapham in the eighteenth century:—

To the Worshipful the PRESIDENT, TREASURER,
and GOVERNORS of the Hospital founded at
the Sole Costs and Charges of THOMAS GUY,
Esq.

The Humble Petition of *Phillip Westrup*,
one of the Poor of the Parish of *Clapham*.
Sheweth

THAT your Petitioner is afflicted with *a sore Leg* and being in low Circumstances and destitute of Funds whereby to obtain a Cure, most humbly desires your Worships would be pleased to admit *him* into the same Hospital.

And as in Duty-bound shall ever pray.

We the Church-Wardens and Overseers of the Poor of the Parish abovementioned, do hereby promise and agree for ourselves, and our Successors, to and with the GOVERNORS of the said Hospital, that if they shall please to admit the said Petitioner, We will supply *him* with clean Body Linen every week, and we will be Security for the Payment of Fourpence a Day for the Maintenance of *him* of which we promise to advance beforehand, by Way of Deposit, Nine Shillings and Fourpence

on the Day of Admission for the first Month and so to continue to Advance the like Sum of Nine Shillings and Fourpence on the first of every successive Twenty-eight Days, so long as *he* shall be continued in the Hospital, and will receive *him* when *he* shall be discharged from thence; and if *he* shall die there, We will forthwith, upon our receiving Notice thereof, take away *his* Body or pay the Fees for *his* Burial to the Steward of the said Hospital, for the Time being, according to the Usage in that Behalf. Witness our Hand this Day of 176
 Witness *Thomas Richards, Beadle.*

Note.—The Signature of the Officers to be attested by the Beadle of the Parish or by a substantial Inhabitant, where there is none.

Hamnett Townley,

Churchwarden or Overseer.

* * * The Deposits to be paid at the Hospital or otherwise the Messenger to be paid One Shilling, who shall be sent for them.

Contemporary manuscript notes on the covers and margins include :—

“Phillip Westrup on his Discharge from Guy’s Hospital, £1 3s. 2d., August 13th, 1771, No. 19.

<i>“Admitted, 13th, June</i>	}	1771.	£	s.	d.
<i>Discharged, 8th August</i>					
<i>In on the House Subsistence, 56 days @ 4d.</i>				18	8
<i>Petition on Admission</i>	2	6
					<hr/>
					£1 1 2

*12th August, 1771, Received the Contents for
 Mr. Thomas Callaway, Steward.*

William May, Clerk.

and, finally,

*“Received for } Due to Sister Job for Washing Body
 the Sister } Linen, 8 weeks at 3d. = 2s. /0d.”*

In 1738 was published "Directions and Prayers for the use of the Patients in the Hospital of Southwark founded at the sole costs and charges of Thomas Guy, Esquire."

In its early years Guy's Hospital managed to accommodate some 1,080 patients in its twelve wards and 435 beds in the course of a year; but for a long time the number of out-patients was relatively small. On one day in 1735, we learn from Maitland, there were no more than 16. Only in 1795 did their numbers justify the appointment of an unsalaried Assistant Medical Officer to deal with that department.

The "Take-in" was already established in the eighteenth century. One of the dressers was in waiting for a week by rotation to take the care of accidents, and the surgeon of the week was always in readiness to be called on, if wanted for an operation. "When an accident is brought in, the surgeon whose week it is receives notice, and, according to the nature of such accident, he either goes immediately over, or trusts the management of it to the dresser who is in waiting there."

In the ordinary course patients were admitted at 10 o'clock on Wednesdays at Guy's (or on Thursdays at St. Thomas's) when the week's take-in began. Wednesday was still the day, and not Thursday as at present, when Wilks and Bettany's "History of Guy's" was written.

The memoirs of J. F. South, surgeon to St. Thomas's in the earlier half of last century, provide a picture of the "Take-in" in his day.

Applicants for admission presented themselves at the Steward's Office at 10 o'clock on Thursdays and asked for a "petition" upon which was their ailment, "which in a very large proportion, specially in winter time, was 'bad leg,' but if a medical case was almost invariably set down as 'inward complaint.'" Having received this petition the patient proceeded to the male or female admission room and there awaited the arrival of the physician and surgeon who attended successively every Thursday to select the proper cases. "The petitions of the most severe cases were marked thus: 'HC, HC, HC'; of the

second class, 'HC, HC' ; and of the least important, 'HC.' These were then collected and taken to the Steward who assigned to each his or her ward. Cases of strangulated hernia, retention of urine, and all fractures and other accidents were admitted at the discretion of the dresser attached to the surgeon of the week. He resided entirely in the hospital at his own expense, a sitting-room and bedroom only being provided for him; and he was generally accompanied by another dresser with whom he was friendly. Upon the dresser in charge was also the responsibility of sending for his surgeon when he considered it necessary."

From an eighteenth century account is derived the description that follows :—

"Each surgeon sees the whole number of his patients once a week, when he *presents out* those who are cured." This refers to a custom which then obtained, under which a patient before his discharge was made to appear before the house-committee to thank them for his treatment. Even after this ceremony had fallen into disuse, the older physicians would announce that a patient was fit to be discharged by the words "Present him !"

Another relic of an earlier age are the initials P.O., still inscribed by the clerk upon out-patients' "letters," where the foregoing prescriptions are all to be continued. At one time, Wilks tells us in his notice of Dr. Cholmeley, the letter P was written with the same intention upon the bed-letters in the wards, and that when it was M.M. c. M.S. that was to be repeated, the Borough patient preferred to derive the word from *purgo*, -*avi*, -*atum*, rather than from the orthodox *pergo*, *perrexi*, *perrectum*.

"Particular bad cases are seen every day if necessary, because, by a rotation, one surgeon at least visits the hospital every day. . . At St. Thomas's Hospital the days of attendance are Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, at 11; at Guy's, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at the same hour. At Guy's we visit the whole house every Monday and Friday. . . On Saturday, the Physicians and Surgeons all meet and go in pairs to

visit all their patients. . . Friday is the general day for operations and for grand consultations. . . Notice of Operation is stuck up at the surgery of each hospital mentioning the operation and by whom performed."

Towards the end of the eighteenth century St. Thomas's possessed two operating theatres, that for the male patients in the third square; that in the front square appropriated solely for those of the female sex. "The latter was afterwards found to be so inconvenient that at last a new theatre was built over St. Thomas's Church." The outline of this is still to be traced in the attics above the old Treasurer's House in St. Thomas's Street.

VI.—THE UNITED HOSPITALS.

*“No doubt ’twould surprise the pupils at Guy’s;
I am no unbeliever—no man can say that o’ me,
But St. Thomas himself would scarce trust his own eyes
If he saw such a thing in his School of Anatomy.”*

Lay of St. Gengulphus, INGOLDSBY.

We have already seen in what manner the physicians and the surgeons had protected their interests before the eighteenth century was far advanced. The general practitioners had to wait still longer before they were enabled to improve their position. It remained for the passage of the Apothecaries Act in 1815, and the extension of its provisions in later years, to determine their professional status. Previously there had been no effectual check upon unqualified practice, whilst the educational pretensions of even the duly qualified practitioners were sometimes very slight. To remedy this, an extension of the Act in 1830 first insisted upon a knowledge of the Natural Sciences and of Latin, and, if possible, of Greek also. Prior to 1827 no knowledge of midwifery had been considered necessary in a candidate presenting himself for examination.

A description, published in 1825, draws a sharp distinction between the modes of training of members of the three branches of the profession :—

“The physicians, supposed to be highest in rank, require only a certificate of two years’ residence at a regularly constituted university in any country whatever before the party takes his degree therein, and three examinations carried on in the learned language of Europe.

“ The surgeons, a degree lower, require a certificate of five years’ previous attention to study, a twelve months’ attendance upon hospitals and lectures; that is to say, in other words, the expenditure of about one hundred guineas amongst the principals of the college; and an examination in the vulgar tongue.

“ The apothecaries, still lower in rank, now require five years’ apprenticeship, *i.e.*, a good premium and five years’ service to one of the fraternity, six months’ attendance upon the London hospitals and lecturers, and an examination in the vulgar tongue, not only in pharmacy, but according to the construction which they put upon the Act, in medicine, anatomy, and botany.”

At one time the surgical apprenticeship occupied seven years. It originated in Tudor times when the surgeons were on the same footing as the other City Guilds, to which the novice was admitted only after a long period of personal service and pupilage. Such a system of apprenticeship existed at St. Thomas’s Hospital as early as 1561; and a later record, dated 1703, contains a provision that no surgeon was to have more than three “cubbs,” or apprentices.

In the eighteenth century we have to discriminate between three classes of students at the Borough hospitals. In the first place, there were those who had bound themselves apprentice at an early age to a particular hospital surgeon to learn the whole art of surgery from him, paying a heavy premium for their long course of instruction. Next, the dressers, who may be assumed to have served their apprenticeship to a practitioner elsewhere, attached themselves to a hospital surgeon for a sort of post-graduate course, paying £50 for a year of such instruction, or 30 guineas for six months. Dressers were at one time known as *skellet-carriers*, from their especial privilege of bearing after the surgeon in his tour of the wards the skellet, a receptacle resembling a knife-box, containing “plaisters, bandages, and linseed meal”; and they enjoyed the “advantage of not only assisting the surgeons in the performance of operations, but of having patients and unimportant accidents confided to their care in the absence of their superiors.” Apprentices

and dressers may, therefore, be regarded as then constituting what is now known as the surgeon's "firm," for there were no house-surgeons at Guy's before 1856. The third group, that of the "pupils," formed an outer zone at all surgical procedures. Like the dressers, they served their apprenticeship elsewhere, but unlike them, instead of attaching themselves to one surgeon, paid a smaller fee (24 guineas for a year, or 18 guineas for six months and enjoyed the run of the lectures and practice, or, as the old expression has it, "walked the hospitals." The pupil's business was "only to look on and to make such enquiry as he chuse of the surgeon who is then attending." The term "pupil," generally replaced by the word "student," survives to-day only in the title of the Pupils' Physical Society.

The pupil's name and fees were received at the Steward's office, on presenting a certificate from his late master that he had served five years with diligence and sobriety. When a pupil entered at either of the Borough hospitals he was considered as belonging to both and had the same privilege at each. Neither apprentice nor dresser paid the "pupil money." In the early part of the century there were only two surgeons and a single apothecary upon the staff; a third surgeon was added later. The pupil money was, therefore, pooled and divided between the six surgeons and two apothecaries of the United Hospitals. In the earlier days, however, the apothecary was allowed no more than three pupils, but the surgeon was permitted to attach to himself four pupils and four dressers (inclusive of apprentices) at a time; but, naturally, there was no limit to the entry of pupils at the hospitals.

How the apothecaries ever came to be "engrafted into the fee-taking of the surgeons" baffled Mr. J. F. South, who, as a surgeon of St. Thomas's, made it his business to inquire. "They most sedulously prevented the surgical apprentices, dressers, and students from entering their premises. Physicians had all their pupil fees (and they were not many) to themselves, the pupil paying an additional guinea to the apothecary, who forthwith presented him with a hospital pharmacopœia which he had the

privilege of printing at his own cost." As in the case of Lettsom, by a small premium a surgeon's pupil might be admitted to the physician's practice.

In addition to their entry fee, pupils paid 7 guineas for anatomical lectures, 10 guineas for chemistry, materia medica, and practice of physic, and, if they dissected, 5 guineas extraordinary. Apprentices' and dressers' fees were paid direct to the surgeon and were his own property. Dressers' fees were finally abolished in 1846, the last apprentices at Guy's being Birkett, Callaway, and Foster.

At no time was medical *practice* common to the two hospitals. Although medical and surgical cases were received indiscriminately into each of the wards until as late as 1850, it appears that *surgical* cases alone were available at Guy's for the instruction of students from St. Thomas's.

By a long-standing arrangement the lectures on anatomy and those on surgery were delivered at St. Thomas's Hospital and the dissections were carried on there, whilst all the lectures on practice of medicine, chemistry, therapeutics, and materia medica, midwifery, physiology, and experimental philosophy were delivered at Guy's—the former three subjects by physicians of Guy's Hospital alone, "which," continues Mr. South, "was a very sore subject to the physicians of St. Thomas's, who had formerly made vain attempts to participate in the medical teaching, thinking that as a Guy's surgeon was a teacher in the anatomy and surgery lectures at St. Thomas's, they ought to share in the medical teaching at Guy's." Dr. Lister of St. Thomas's did, indeed, succeed in joining Dr. Saunders in his lectures on the practice of medicine; but for some reason he was not acceptable to the pupils, and, after a very few lectures, the arrangement was broken off.

The school of St. Thomas's Hospital was but little in advance when its friendly competitor arrived on the scene. Medical education on a practical basis was scarcely thought of in England before the advent of the eighteenth century, when the Royal Hospital in Southwark had only just received a new lease of

life after a long period of depression. On the other hand, the younger institution had been evolved, fully equipped, from the brain of the shrewd old City bookseller, who, in his charge to his Executors and Trustees, had desired that his foundation should conform "in all things, as near as may be to the course, customs, and usage of late years prevailing and practised in the said Hospital of St. Thomas."

Cheselden had lectured on anatomy and surgery in 1718. He was succeeded later by another surgeon at St. Thomas's, Mr. Gird. Dr. Jurin, the earliest Guy's physician, lectured on anatomy at Surgeons' Hall in 1723. Of the first four surgeons to Guy's, Croft and Cooper, Baker and Hasell Cradock, very little is recorded. The next pair (for in the early days there were only two surgeons at a time upon the Staff, and neither assistants nor house-surgeons), Samuel Sharp, 1733—1757, and John Belchier, 1736—1768, both of them pupils of Cheselden, were of more note. Sharp lectured at his house in Covent Garden, where he was succeeded in 1747 by William Hunter. Sharp was followed by another Guy's man, a quondam apprentice of his own, Joseph Warner, 1745—1790. A regular course of lectures was established for the Borough pupils in 1768 by Mr. Else, and after him, the great surgeon, Cline, also of St. Thomas's. Dr. Haighton, afterwards physiologist to Guy's, an anatomist of distinction, was, at Cline's particular request, appointed his assistant, until the place was claimed for Astley Cooper. In later years Cline caused the latter to be appointed, jointly with himself, lecturer to the Borough hospitals. It was out of circumstances connected with the Cooper succession that the dispute arose which led ultimately to the establishment of a separate school at Guy's, in 1825, a year significant also as the centenary of the opening of Guy's. Astley Cooper first separated the subjects of anatomy and surgery in his lectures, devoting a special course to the latter where previously six chirurgical lectures had been crowded in at the conclusion of those upon anatomy.

In 1770 the old Chemistry Theatre was built at Guy's to accommodate Dr. William Saunders, who lectured there thrice

weekly. He had been elected to the Staff in that year, after establishing a reputation on chemistry at his house in Covent Garden.

The institution of these lectures followed close upon a reconciliation between the two hospitals, which had broken off all relations in 1760, after a dispute over the reciprocal attendance of students at operations. The quarrel was patched up in 1768 when it was agreed that the students should see the whole of the surgical practice of both hospitals; and the new medical course, by special arrangement, was thrown open to the men from across the street.

In 1792 we are told "there are lectures read every morning at half past seven on midwifery by Dr. Lowder in the borough: they continue until half-past eight. At ten o'clock in the morning Mr. Babington, the apothecary at Guy's, gives a lecture on Chymistry, which continues until eleven, when the practice begins. Those mornings that pass without a lecture in Chymistry, Dr. Saunders supplies with one on the Practice of Physic. . . . The Anatomical lectures are every day from one o'clock until three. These are read at St. Thomas's Theatre by Mr. Cline, the former in Chymistry and the Practice of Physic at the theatre at Guy's."

In 1795 William Allen, the chemist, joined Mr. Higgens in the lectureship on Natural Philosophy, while Babington and Curry lectured on Medicine and Haighton on Physiology. Dr. Haighton was one of the practitioners whom the College of Physicians in the first decade of the nineteenth century decided to prosecute for practising within the limits of their jurisdiction without their license. Haighton replied that he was willing to sit for the strictest examination they might impose, and to pay the fee for their license, but flatly declined to reside at a University for two years, as they had demanded. Babington, among other professional men, complied with the conditions imposed by the College; and afterwards was promoted from apothecary to a physiciancy on the Guy's Staff. He and his great friend Sir Astley Cooper are the only members of the medical profession represented by monuments in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Dr. Golding's description of St. Thomas's Hospital in 1813 is full of interest from the light it throws upon the origin of some of the present institutions. "Contiguous to the theatre is the sleeping room of the Dresser who, in the capacity of House-Surgeon (*pro tempore*), remains on duty in the absence of his superior to be in readiness in case of accidental misfortune requiring his aid to administer relief should any patient in the hospital be attacked by hæmorrhage or other distressing symptoms and need prompt assistance of his professional skill. The Dressers sleep in rotation from one *taking-in* day till the next, and thus each remains in constant attendance during the space of a week. Underneath the Dresser's room is another apartment for his accommodation throughout the day, that he may have no inducement for neglecting his important trust until he is superseded by another."

The following advertisement appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* on Monday, January 23rd, 1815: "The United Hospitals of St. Thomas and Guy.—The Anniversary Dinner of the Gentlemen educated at these Hospitals will be holden on Thursday next, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand.—Tickets 30s. to be had at the bar of the Tavern.—Dinner on table at half-past five o'clock precisely.

VII.—DISUNION.

"I think this is a new fashion," quoth Dr. Slop, "of beginning a medical lecture." "'Tis all true," answered Trim. "Then I wish the faculty would follow the cut of it," said Yorick.
Tristram Shandy, V., xl., STERNE.

Considering the enormous difficulties involved in the management of so complex a partnership as that of the two medical schools in the Borough, the wonder is not that at length it failed, but that it contrived to last so long. The severance was completed in 1825 when the school at Guy's was established independently; but trouble had been developing for some years before.

By the courtesy of the present representative of a firm which at that date undertook the printing for the two hospitals we are enabled to reprint a "broadside" published for the pupils in 1823. A few historical notes are necessary by way of introduction.

Astley Paston Cooper was apprenticed, in 1784, to his uncle, William Cooper, then surgeon at Guy's. He obtained the transference of his articles to Henry Cline, the successful teacher of anatomy at St. Thomas's, and a warm friendship grew up between the surgeon and his new apprentice. In 1789 the brilliant pupil was appointed Demonstrator, in place of Dr. Haighton, and was afterwards admitted by Cline to share the lectureship with him. In 1800 Astley Cooper was appointed surgeon to Guy's despite the opposition of his uncle. Cline retired from the joint lectureship and was succeeded by his son, who died in 1820, and was replaced by his cousin, Joseph Henry Green. The post of Demonstrator of Anatomy, vacated by Green, was now filled by Charles Aston Key, who had wisely married a niece of Astley Cooper.

Mrs. Key's brother, Bransby Cooper, had meanwhile returned after a brief career as an army surgeon in the campaign in the Peninsula, and was assisting Sir Astley with the dissections for the anatomical lectures and, at the same time, looking to his uncle to provide him with a permanent billet at the Borough schools. Aston Key was a brilliant surgeon and anatomist, but irritable and unattractive as a man. Bransby, on the other hand, was amiable, but not able.

Another claimant for promotion was John Flint South, a former apprentice of the younger Cline, who had been, first, prosector, and then from 1820 conservator of the museum of St. Thomas's and Assistant Demonstrator of Anatomy. On Monday, February 10th, 1823, Key informed South of his intention of resigning his post, and by agreement between Sir Astley and Mr. Green, Bransby Cooper and J. F. South were appointed jointly to the Demonstratorship of Anatomy. And in the same month Mr. *Knock'emdown* (crying Leap Year when there is no Leap Year) discharges his broadside :—

TO MEDICAL
STUDENTS
AND OTHERS.

By Auction.

Mr. Nicholas Knock'emdown respectfully informs the Public: that on the 29th of the present Month, he will have the honour of submitting for Sale the following

**Valuable Publications, and Rare and Curious
Articles.**

Lot 1.—All the Transactions, worth preserving, of the Physical Society, at Guy's; interspersed with numerous anecdotes of its most illustrious Orators. 24mo., richly bound in *Calf*.

2.—A Treatise on Sanguineous Transfusion, by Dr. Bundle, with notes by King Cole; in which the Annotator suggests the occasional performance of the *Æro-sanguineous* Injection as a substitute for the Action of the Lungs.

3.—A Magnificent Extinguisher, originally intended to smother the Establishment of a celebrated Ranger from Old Schools: but which (being found totally inadequate to such design) will be put up at a very low sum.

N.B.—*This was originally constructed in Tom's Demonstrating Theatre: the Key of that place has since been removed: two skeleton Keys have, however, been produced, and it is expected that one of them will be sufficient to open it.*

4.—The Title Page of a course of Clinical Lectures: as annually given to the Surgical Pupils at the Un. Hosp. In Royal Quarto *interleaved*: original price 25 guineas.

5.—Tracts containing—Directions for performing the various manipulations of Surgery: in which is clearly shewn, that good Bandaging and no Bandaging are synonymous terms.—A description of a new mechanical contrivance, by which any Pupil may witness the examination of cases, although 20 others intervene—with other matter equally novel and useful. By Messrs. the Dressers of the Un. Hosp.

6.—The Leg of a distinguished Lecturer: left, by mistake, on the table of the Theatre at—

N.B.—*Mr. K. cannot pledge himself to produce this Lot, as from the known high esteem in which its natural owner is held, he thinks it probable, the Class will not suffer it to come to the hammer.*

7.—A Dissertation on the means to be used in entering to the different Lectures, with Cases, proving in the most satisfactory manner, that the benefit derived from such entry is in the direct ratio of the sum expended, and inversely, as the knowledge obtained. By Standard Pestle, Esq., of Guy's.

8. A Thesis on Christian Conversation, and on the moral and constitutional effects of the practice of Profane Swearing. By the Abbot of St. Bartholomew.

9.—An Account of the Public Post Mortem Examinations of the Un. Hosp. for the last seven years: printed in large type on a half-sheet of letter paper. By an Eye Witness.

10.—Some remarks on Public Discourses: with a Definition of a new Rhetorical Figure, called the Hæsitato-Aspirat; and rules for its employment. By Joseph Viridis, Esq.

As an encouragement to spirited Bidding, Mr. Knock'emdown offers the following NON-ENTITIES in the way of a BONUS, to be divided by lot amongst all who purchase to the amount of 3d. or upwards.

1st.—The Suavity of Sir Wayward Hum.

2nd.—The Visus and Tactus Eruditus of Messrs. the Dressers of the Un. Hosp.

3rd.—The Anatomical and Chemical Acquirements of Messrs. the Ex—— of H—— Mum.

4th.—The Venous Congestion of Dr. A.——

Southwark, February, 1823.

Lot 1.—The Physical Society at Guy's was founded as early as 1771. In spite of the minute size of the volume it could scarcely fail to include the paper on "Cow-Pox" read before the Society by Jenner in 1802. Four years previously Cline of Thomas's had inoculated a child patient with vaccine supplied by Jenner.

Lot 2.—Dr. James Blundell qualified at Edinburgh in 1813, and in the year following joined his uncle Dr. Haighton in delivering lectures on Midwifery and Physiology at Guy's, and succeeded him as lecturer on those subjects to the United Hospitals.

His best-known work in Physiology was concerned with transfusion of blood, illustrated by experiments upon animals. In 1818 he turned the experience so gained to advantage by similar operations upon human subjects, wherein his partial success (he

lost five of the nine patients) may have elicited a word of caution or reproof from Benjamin Harrison, the despotic Treasurer. "King" Harrison, as he was universally called behind his back, ruled Guy's from 1797 to 1848, and with a rod of iron. "With one hand," said a contemporary writer in the *Lancet*, "he smote Grainger, with the other he demolished St. Thomas's. By Jove, 'twas grandly done!"

Lot 3.—In the autumn of 1816 Edward Grainger, "the celebrated Ranger," became a pupil of the United Hospitals. When Key was appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy, Grainger thought he also was entitled to be appointed jointly; presuming upon the assistance he had given in the dissecting-room and upon his popularity there. Since the elder Cline's appointment, however, the selection had invariably been made from among the apprentices of the anatomical lecturer, and they had, indeed, always been held to have a prescriptive right to the post. The application was, therefore, refused.

Grainger then left the hospitals, and started a school of anatomy of his own in a tailor's shop in St. Saviour's Churchyard, and was soon enabled to move to larger premises in Webb Street, Maze Pond. He was joined in 1820 by Dr. Armstrong and Dr. Richard Phillips, who lectured on Medicine and Chemistry. Edward Grainger died in 1824 and was succeeded by his brother Richard, who carried on the school until 1842, when he was persuaded by the authorities of St. Thomas's to join their staff.

The "Extinguisher" that failed was an effort made by Aston Key to stifle this outside competition by establishing a rival dissecting-room in Maze Pond, in partnership with John Morgan. Private courses of instruction conducted by members of hospital staffs were by no means uncommon at this period. Dr. Highton of Guy's had a theatre in St. Saviour's Churchyard about 1803; Dr. G. G. Currey, of St. Thomas's, ran a school of medicine in "the Protestant Dissenters' Schoolroom in Maze Pond" until 1823; and similar lectures were delivered in Dean Street, Crosby Row, and at the Surrey Dispensary.

Key's venture, however, was abandoned at the end of a couple of years. In 1821 the post of Assistant Surgeon at Guy's was specially created for him, though ostensibly for the better attendance of surgical out-patients. Five years later he was appointed full surgeon. His colleague Morgan was similarly promoted.

The remainder of the paragraph evidently refers to Key's resignation of the Demonstratorship and the appointment of Bransby and South to the vacancy.

Lot 4 seems to allude to the pupil's fee and the surgical course of lectures, with a suggestion that the lecturer was occasionally remiss in delivering them.

Lot 5 implies that good bandaging was no less a rarity at that date than at any other period. Details of the "new mechanical contrivance," anticipating Sam Weller's "pair of patent double million magnifyin' gas microscopes of hextra power," have, unfortunately, not survived.

Two quotations will make clear the allusion of Lot 6. From J. F. South's "Memorials": "Astley Cooper dressed in black with short knee breeches and silk stockings which well displayed his handsome legs, of which he was not a little proud." Even more to the point is Mr. Travers, cited by Bransby Cooper in his "Life" of his uncle: "nor was he altogether unconscious of the fine proportions of his frame, for he would not unfrequently throw his well-shaped leg upon the table at lecture, when describing an injury or operation of the lower limb, that he might more graphically demonstrate the subject of his discourse."

Lot 7.—The surname of Standard Pestle, Esq., of Guy's, almost certainly indicates Richard Stocker, the Apothecary. The duties of this official brought him into daily contact with the students whose admission cards were signed by both Steward and Apothecary.

Lot 8.—We fear that the accomplishments of Mr. Abbot, of Bart.'s, were not conducive to further celebrity in after-life, for we have nothing more to record of him.

Lot 9 seems to be another allusion to Aston Key. The "united pupils" were allowed to see the dissection of all the morbid bodies. The earliest records of post-mortem inspections at Guy's are preserved in a volume called the "Red Inspection Book," containing "Reports of Curious and Interesting Medical and Surgical Cases commenced at Guy's Hospital, 1814."

The inspections were made by Mr. T. Callaway, and numbered 37 in that year. In 1817 there are reports of only 10 cases. There are also records of Inspections made by Mr. Key dating from 1821 to 1825.

Lot 10.—Biographers are too polite to tell us whether Mr. Joseph Henry Green (1791—1863) was in the habit of dropping his h's. Dr. Ashwell, Blundell's successor on the Guy's Staff, had this peculiarity, the mention of which caused the celebrated "Teddy" Cock, the third of Sir Astley's nephews who attained Staff rank at Guy's, to exclaim, "It is no matter; 'Ashwell' would sound 'As well' without the h!"

If, in elucidating the reference in the first bonus, we were confined to the Borough Hospitals, we should have to choose between the only two titled personages there in the early eighteenth century. Sir Astley's baronetage, granted in 1821, was the reward of an operation upon King George the Fourth for the removal of a "steatome" from the royal scalp, His Majesty facetiously remarking, afterwards, that he hoped it would *stay at home* and not annoy him any more!

"Suavity," however, entered largely into the composition of Sir Astley; to a far greater degree than it did into that of Sir Gilbert Blane, of St. Thomas's, a frigid person, to whom his colleagues in playful moments referred as "Chilblain."

But it is practically certain that the allusion is to Sir Everard Home (1756—1832), who, although he was a member of the Staff of St. George's, was condemned to *Mr. K.'s* pillory by the horrible fact that *he presided at the examinations of the College of Surgeons.*

The *Visus* and *Tactus Eruditus* were qualities highly esteemed at the period. Aston Key is said to have possessed the latter in an extraordinary degree.

The third bonus has been too well concealed to be explained at the present time. The fourth also is obscure, although *Dr. A.*, if of Guy's, may be Addison, who joined in 1820 and was appointed Assistant Physician in 1824. Also, he was a *protégé* of Harrison's, which may well have earned him the right to be included in this list. The Treasurer, ever guided by that principle defined in recent years as "promoting the good men we *do* know, before the good men we *don't*," took care to fill "the various offices with persons whom he could trust, and took a lively interest in the welfare of each."

Joseph Henry Green seemed to think that Mr. Harrison was at the bottom of the next development in the quarrel between the Borough Hospitals, "in the hope, probably, that the balance of the receipts in favour of Guy's, which had arisen from contingent circumstances would continue under the new arrangement."

In the middle of January, 1825, Sir Astley Cooper handed in his resignation as Lecturer on Anatomy and Surgery in the confident expectation that his nephews, Bransby and Key, would be accepted to fill his place in the joint lectureship with Mr. Green. To their astonishment the Treasurer of St. Thomas's appointed Mr. South. Sir Astley thereupon desired to withdraw his resignation, and when this was refused, assented to Mr. Harrison's suggestion to found an independent School of Medicine at Guy's in which Key and Bransby Cooper were appointed respectively to the chairs of Surgery and Anatomy. Sir Astley's popularity carried the scheme to success, and the majority of the United Pupils came over to the new school.

The one thing lacking was a surgical museum, for Sir Astley's claim that St. Thomas's should hand over to him the half of their museum, which was very largely the work of his own hands, had been refused. At the same time a war of words began between Green and the two nephews who had been annoyed by his lukewarm response to a movement to boycott South's lectures. Green, on the other hand, was much irritated by a "Memorial" instigated by them which the pupils addressed to the hospital

authorities, "a paper most offensive to me since it describes the anatomical school as in a disorganised and inefficient state." The controversy ended with a "Letter to Sir Astley Cooper on the Establishment of an Anatomical and Surgical School at Guy's Hospital," published by Mr. Green.

Even after the new school had been set up, a "slender bond of union" still existed in the permission of students of one hospital to see the practice of the other. On February 14th, 1828, was founded the United Hospitals' Club which, happily, still cultivates friendly relations between the St. Thomas's and Guy's men who are its members.

The last rupture occurred in December, 1836. Notice of three operations had appeared as usual on the walls of St. Thomas's. A crowd crossed over from Guy's, only to be refused admittance when they were unable to produce their tickets. This, in itself, was a breach of custom, for, according to tradition, the challenge was sufficiently answered by giving as the countersign the attachments of Poupart's ligament. The two contingents, with tempers already ruffled, met in the operating theatre, and when two Guy's dressers were refused a place, allowed by custom, in the well of the theatre, a riot commenced. By virtue of superior numbers, the Thomas's men turned out their opponents, who assembled with reinforcements from their own and from Grainger's School in the front square of St. Thomas's. Operations had been abandoned for the day, and the police were called upon to tackle the mob outside, and nine Guy's men were arrested and bound over at the next assizes to keep the peace. The Staff of Guy's passed a resolution, and the Chaplain, Frederick Denison Maurice, and the Steward, James Browell, published separate testimonials, all of which testified to the well-known fact that never had there been more perfect little lambs than the Guy's students of that day. The authorities of St. Thomas's passed a similar vote of confidence in their own men; and from that time the Borough Hospitals were no longer United.

